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EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE IRISH SETTLEMENT



VOMAN: "The Gentleman has got to settle with me as well, for the pig belongs to me every bit as much as it does to either of you!"

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Mr. Galsworthy, the famous novelist, wrote a powerful letter to the Times at the end of last week. He pointed out the crying need for legislation to deal with acute questions of human life and of abominable cruelty inflicted on animals, and lamented the fact that the whole time of Parliament was being devoted to purely constitutional questions.

The Care of Children

With much of Mr. Galsworthy's letter we find ourselves in agreement; but we regret that he stops short of propounding the one remedy which seems likely to us to be in any way effective—the inclusion of women in the body politic. Take, for instance, the question of infant mortality and the underfeeding of little children. This is a question on which the mothers of

the country and women generally feel much more acutely than do men. If women had votes is it not certain that they would bring pressure to bear on Parliament to devote some of its attention to these questions? In Australia, in New Zealand, and in the Western States of America, where women have the franchise, these matters have been dealt with, and extraordinary improvement has been effected. We are therefore justified in laying the failure to handle them in this country on the exclusion of women from any representation in Parliament.

The Position of the Widow Another question which intimately affects women is the national disgrace of our treatment of the poor widow left with young children. When Mr. Lloyd George was drafting the Insurance scheme, with the help of the Friendly Societies, the sickness for men was originally fixed at 5s. a week, but in addition a widow with young children was to receive 5s. a week on the death of her husband, and is. 6d. for every child of tender years in her care. When this scheme was converted into a Bill to be brought before Parliament, the sickness benefit for men was increased from is. to 10s., and the widow and orphan were entirely omitted! Can anyone doubt that if women had had votes this change would never have

been made? The Case of Mrs. Savage

The position of the working-woman widow has been brought vividly into prominence during the last few days by the terrible revelations in the case of Mrs. Savage, who was sent to prison for six months with hard labour for cruelty to her children. This paper, Vores for Women, has been the means of exposing the true facts. As the result of an investigation

carried out by our own Special Commissioner, we have shown that the true causes were not criminal, but were the hopeless economic position of the hardworking mother, coupled with ignorance and a haunting fear of separation from her children. We are glad to be able to announce that our statements have aroused the most widespread interest. An important debate took place on the case in the House of Lords last Tuesday, in which Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury took part.

Mr. McKenna Considering the Case

In the Commons Mr. McKenna was questioned on Monday and Tuesday by Mr. Keir Hardie, and on Wednesday by Mr. Touche and Mr. Morrell, with a view to the woman being liberated and handed over to the care of Miss Neal (our Commissioner). Mr. McKenna stated that he had made inquiries and was considering the case, but he had the welfare of the children to consider as well as that of the mother; and the woman had been cautioned some years ago, while her husband was alive. However, he was grateful to Miss Neal for her active interest in the case, and if he found the release of the mother would be the best course he would be glad to avail himself of her offer. We hope that Mr. McKenna will see his way clear to taking this course at an early date. for under Miss Neal's inspection the children with be carefully looked after, while every day during which the woman remains in prison tends to unfit her for the task of taking care of them herself.

The Wider Question
In the House of Lords, Lord Sellorne was at great pains to emphasise the point which we made in our

leading article last week, that it is not merely the question of this particular woman which is at stake, but the position of all the working widows of the country. Few people seem to realise that under our present system the widow with young children to support is simply ground to pieces between the upper and the nether millstone. She is expected to be both bread-winner and mother for her children, and the load which she has to bear is utterly beyond her strength. Their lordships were sympathetic to the statement made by Lord Selborne, but we have learnt by bitter experience that there is no prospect of legislation being carried through the House of Commons to remedy this intolerable position until women have won the vote.

Another Illustration

This position is further illustrated by a pitiful story told at an inquest held at St. Pancras last Monday. A widow mother, Mrs. West, died in the Workhouse Infirmary from heart failure accelerated by want of food and self-neglect. It was stated that when the widow fell ill and was unable to work, she and a helpless cripple boy became entirely dependent upon her little son of fourteen, who earned 7s. 6d. per week. This boy, when asked "What did your mother have to eat?" said, "When I gave her something to eat she refused to take it." That is to say, the mother refused the food because she knew it was already insufficient for her two children, whom she loved better than herself. For this condition of affairs the remedy is not poor relief, but a system of pensions for widows with young children, such as has already been carried in New Zealand, where women are voters.

The Home Rule Bill

A crisis is to be reached in the Irish question next Monday, when Mr. Asquith is to announce the concessions which he is prepared to make to opponents of the Home Rule Bill. One of the important matters in which the Bill is at present defective is the exclusion of women from any participation in the government of the country. We shall look forward eagerly to see whether an alteration in this respect is to be one of the concessions; if it is not announced by Mr. Asquith next Monday, we hope that suffragists in the House will take every opportunity of raising the matter and insisting that it shall form part of the "suggestions" which are to be sent up to the Lords at the same time as the original Bill. We deal with this question, and also with the bearing of the crisis apply the general political situation, in our leading article this week.

A Lesson in Rebellion

Those Unionists who have rebuked women for taking to methods of rebellion when all other methods failed to win their recognition as citizens find themselves to-day in the curious position of having to defend open threats of rebellion by men like Lord Roberts and Admiral Seymour, who in their declaration on the Irish situation do not hesitate to say that if the Home Rule Bill is passed without consulting the nation they will hold themselves—

justified in taking or supporting any action that may be effective to prevent it being put into operation, and more particularly to prevent the armed forces of the Crown being used to deprive the people of Ulster of their rights as citizens of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile, Sir Edward Carson and his friends are allowed to drill their troops in Ulster without let or hindrance, while in the East of London the police are sent out to break up the "people's army" of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and to arrest the organiser, Miss Smyth, who tried to prevent this being done.

Forcible Feeding in Scotland

Very grave news reaches us of the condition of Miss Moorhead, one of the suffrage prisoners, who has now been released, after being confined in Edinburgh Prison and forcibly fed. She is stated to be suffering from pneumonia in both lungs, and to be in a dangerous condition. An account is given by members of the W.S.P.U. of an interview which they had with Dr. Devon, the principal medical officer of the prison, in which he admitted his responsibility for the case, though he did not deal with it himself. He also acknowledged that forcible feeding would not enable the authorities to detain Miss Moorhead to the end of her sentence, though she would be kept until her health was seriously impaired. The W.S.P.U. point out that Dr. Devon, in his book on prisons, published a few years ago, protests against forcible feeding as an unwarrantable operation performed on a prisoner. It is further stated that there is reason to fear that Miss Brady, Miss Marion, and Miss Rachel Peace are all being forcibly fed at the present time.

Covernment Majority Reduced by Suffragists

Leith has followed Bethnal Green and rejected the Liberal candidate in a three-cornered contest. How large a number of electors voted against the Government's man in consequence of Mr. Asquith's insolent refusal to see the deputation on woman suffrage which represented the Glasgow Corporation and other prominent bodies in Scotland, it is, of course, impossible to say; but no keen political observer can doubt that far more votes were turned than would account for the narrow figure of 16 by which the seat

was lost. How much longer will the Liberal Party be content to be defeated at elections owing to the obstinacy and anti-democratic position taken up by its leader?

The Fellowship Meeting

We give an account elsewhere (page 350) of the crowded and successful meeting held by the Vores for Women Fellowship on Thursday in last week in the Kingsway Hall, and on page 343 we reproduce extracts from the interesting speech by Sir Harry Johnston. The distinguished explorer, though he is not yet able to appreciate the reasons which drive women to militant action, declares that he will remain dissociated from the Liberal Party until the simple act of justice implied by the enfranchisement of women is placed on the Statute Book.

Items of Interest

In response to the desire expressed by many Fellows and friends for more frequent opportunities of meeting, it has been decided to take the small Essex Hall on Thursday evening, March 26. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will give speeches.

An important contribution to the literature of the suffrage movement and of prison conditions appears this week in the shape of a book by Lady Constance Lytton giving her experiences in prison in her own name and as Jane Warton. We publish in this issue the first part of a special review of it written by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Lord Robert Cecil, speaking at a meeting last Friday of the C.U.W.F.A., said that he was credibly informed that no Liberal candidate was now acceptable who was not in favour of woman suffrage.

By the overwhelming majority of 47 to 14, the United States Senate decided on Monday last to consider immediately a resolution in favour of a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution.

A Bill is to be introduced next session into the Federal Parliament of Capada to give votes to women throughout the Dominion.

We print on page 347 an interesting and thoughtful letter from Mrs. Sidney Webb in continuation of the correspondence on the question of equal pay for equal work.

We learn with great regret as we go to press of the death of Colonel Hanna, a true Liberal who a few years back resigned from his official position in the Hampshire Liberal organisation as a protest against the refusal of the Liberal Government to enfranchise women.



MOTHER NATURE, FEMINIST

By T. O. Meara

Of all the unconsciously humorous arguments of the Anti-Suffragist I know none richer than that which prophesies (as a result of our enfranchisement, if you please!) the coming of a quaint future world wherein "sex-distinctions" shall be swept away; where, in the words of the Bab Ballad, "All men are women; ah, but, then, per contra, women all are men!"

Absurd though this sounds, there is just a little truth in it, for, certainly, as woman's self-respect increases and the swelled head of Man subsides, many of the present vulgar, ridiculous, and totally artificial "distinctions" imposed upon us by the self-conceit of a few silly men will go into the dustbin, and a good riddance! They would not have persisted so long had not many astute exploiters of both masculine and feminine folly found them so commercially and politically profitable.

"Ah!" cries the warning Anti; "but you can't get away from Nature!" My dear Anti, what we want to do is to come back to Nature. For Mother Nature, outspoken old body as she is, cares so little for these much-boomed "essential root differences" between the two sexes that so far as she is concerned the whole business appears to be largely a matter of chance. One might almost say that Mother Nature tossed for it!

For, to begin at the beginning, we find that it is only possible to distinguish the sex of the human embryo in the fourth month of its little dim life, long after the more important organs are well on their way to full development. And what decides the business then "not all the wise men in the world" have ever been able to discover. The most consistent and plausible theory yet put forward is that if both parents stand together upon a fairly high level of health, their child is likely to be a girl; but that if one of them is, either temporarily or permanently in a less excellent physical condition than the other, then it will probably be a boy. This is, of course, never claimed as an invariable rule; it carries with it is all science has to offer us after years of patient and elaborate research, and it certainly explains the prependerance of males amongst the underfed and

weedy "slum classes," and the preponderance of females a little higher up in the social scale. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that any enfeebled species of animals doomed to speedy extinction takes to producing males and males and nothing but males, until it perishes miserably, stifled in maleness. But a species showing a similar proportion of females is "going strong," and does in many instances vastly outnumber Man himself.

Now, the conclusion to be drawn from all this is, I fear, a little disturbing to masculine self-esteem. Mr. Dombey regarded his daughter Florence as "a piece of base coin that couldn't be circulated—a bad boy; nothing more." Yet it really seems as if Mother Nature offered us a man as a kind of makeshift apology for what, under more favourable circumstances might have been a woman!

I am afraid it looks as if Mother Nature's own personal opinion was that the female is the true type; the male a kind of offshoot or "sport," growing rather strong and coarse, as sports are apt to do. Of course, Man, by personifying her as a woman, has claimed his usual privilege of telling us exactly what she thinks and means, instead of allowing her to express it for herself, his first hopeful and intelligent effort in this direction being that perfectly staggering lie that Nature cares only for the reproduction of the race, and nothing for its progress. If this were true we should never have emerged from our primitive condition of one little jellyfish budding off another little jellyfish. Forced to retreat from this position, he generally falls back upon the assertion that Nature formed one sex for reproductive purposes only, the other (His Noble Self) for Progress. Rather a double edged argument, this, for Nature, winking at us over her shoulder, places at his feet a little working model of her thoughts in the shape of an ant-hill, or possibly a bee's

In short, Mother Nature cares nothing at all for his Lord-of Creation swaggering; she lumps us all together as creatures of one common clay, slightly differentiated, as are all her more progressive children, to save our enterprising spirits from the intelerable strain of involuntary reproduction, but no more entitled to deny each other the elementary rights of citizenship because of this slight difference than we are entitled to deny these same rights to red-haired people or people with long noses.

I am forgetting, though, that Mr. Chesterton would probably deny even the right of existence to people with long noses.

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Extracts from the Speech by Sir Harry Johnston at the Kingsway Hall on February 26

this: That as a political reform, Woman Suffrage comes first before any other measure now before the nation's consideration. The elimination of sex distinction at the polling booths need not carry with it any further enlargement of the suffrage, need not be associated with any disputations measure for the readjustment of constituencies or the qualifications for exercise of the suffrage. Justice to women should be lifted high above partisan wrangles. Provide first of all a constitutional means for the expression of the will and opinion of several million women wageearners, tax-payers, and valid citizens, and then let each party or group put forward what measures it believes to be for the further benefit of the people of Great Britain and Ireland. I, personally, have been in favour of women exercising the parliamentary suffrage on the same terms as men ever since in a now remote past I gave any thought at all to the way we were governed and to our representative institutions. As soon as I was entitled to speak as I felt on platforms about politics, I announced adhesion to the idea of eliminating the sex qualification in allotting the

Possible Opposition in the Lords

I quite understood-up to a certain point—the difficulties of the present Administration. But now, indeed, we are entitled to say "Woman Suffrage comes first." Constitutional means have been provided for making the will of the majority of voters prevail even against the opposition of the Senate. The right course for the present Government to take now would be to attempt to carry through the House of Commons a briefly-worded measure removing such words from past Acts as limit the exercise of the Parliamentary Suffrage to the male sex, and definitely granting the vote to women on the same terms as those which now govern its possession by men. The Lords might not now be disposed to act unfairly towards the women citizens of this land. If they did throw out the Bill, however, the onus of the blame would be shifted to them from the shoulders of the present Cabinet and the Liberal Party. When the Ministers of to-day appealed next for the support of the electorate it would be with Woman Suffrage prominent amongst their measures of reform; and if they received their mandate in consequence from the country, the opposition of the Upper House would be merely a needless waste of time.

The principal object of our politicians, especially our professional politicians, is not so much to legislate for the good of the country as to get into office and to remain in office once they are returned to power. They are Conservatives who pretend to be Radicals, Radicals who show themselves bigotedly Conservative in many points. In order to succeed the present Ministry and to step into their vacated seats of power, divers Conservative or Unionist politicians are deliberately inciting a people to civil war, to a degree of damage to life and property which may prove a million times greater in seriousness, loss and suffering than the pin-pricks inflicted by the militant advocates of equal rights for men and women.

Reforms v. Vote-catching Measures

Reforms abolishing the spread of alcohol poison and a carrying on of certain poisonous trades, reforms in the marriage laws, in the legal status of mothers, widows and children, in the laws of inheritance, in the equality of opportunity for women in all careers possible to women: such measures as these are dropped or postponed indefinitely because they do not pay from an electioneering point of view.* On the other hand-and this, I think; gives the present situation its acute phase, and is the only excuse I can find for militancy-measures of vast import, measures which, if they turn out badly, will affect women quite as much as men, are being hurried through the Legislature without any opportunity being afforded for eliciting the opinion and the assent of women through the polling booth. This, if you come to think of it impartially, is a glaring injustice, which men in the past have resented by deeds of violence far worse than the law-breaking of modern mili-

Women differ surprisingly little from men in all assentials. They feel the heat and cold much the same, are tortured by the same diseases, suffer equally

"If you want to realise the present condition of romen's inferiority in Great Britain and Ireland, read het admirable book just published by Dr. Elizabeth loan Chesser, "Woman, Marriage and Motherhood."

The gist of my utterance to night is intended to be | from hunger and disappointment, from bad air, draughts, damp, and insanitary surroundings. If a war is brought on, civil or foreign, rich women suffer in their incomes, poor women in the enhanced cost of food and fuel. They either lose husbands, lovers, sons, or brothers from gunshot wounds or the diseases of the camp, or they themselves, as nurses of the sick and wounded, succumb to septic poisoning, typhoid, or cholera. Jobbery in administration depletes their means of livelihood or affects their amenities of life quite as much as it does in the case of men. In short, as citizens (conscious now of their slight superiority over men in their capacity of motherhood) their disenfranchisement, their political nullity, is such an outrageous injustice and anachronism that we can well understand how a few of the more impatient amongst the recently-awakened attempt to cut the Gordian knot of tergiversation by violence.

If deeds of violence would hasten the enfranchisement of women, I should advise them to try this course, and deem them no more blameable than the men who have again and again achieved measures of freedom by revolt. But the movement for the complete enfranchisement of women, of which the Parliamentary vote is only a detail, though an important one, is on a different footing from other insurrections in the past. It is, as Mr. Zangwill has said, an appeal "from the logic of force to the force of logic.'

What Stopped Irish Militancy

Bloodshed and the destruction of property are always followed by a reaction, and perhaps for a time a worse degree of tyranny; at any rate, such courses scare the undecided third party in the State into alliance with the tyrant. The cause of selfgovernment in Ireland has been enormously prejudiced and delayed by the violent uprisings of the Irish against English domination. But, of course, what has placed the Home Rule Party in such a powerful position that they at present dominate British politics and, amongst other things, keep back the enfranchise ment of women, is the enlargement of the Irish franchise in 1885. It is this power which is winning for them along constitutional lines and without the need of violence some form of self-government.

Women, however, have not this relief. Yet by the majority of men-suffragists they are begged to refrain from violence against persons and property, conjured to be patient whilst their emancipation is delayed. Unwelcome as this advice may be to some here present to-night, it is one, nevertheless, which I would endorse with all the force I can command.

The cry for "Woman suffrage first" was first uttered by a man, and expresses the views of a very large number of men amongst the educated classes in this community. Why? Because such men realise that by the enfranchisement of women they will gather to their sides as allies all the really educated, thoughtful women voters in the country in the cause of purity in politics, for the abolition of that principle which underlies all party politics—the buying and selling of legislation: the power of money, backed by brute force in the background, to dominate our lives in this

"Intellectual Caresses"

Consequently, this movement for the enfranchisement of women is far from being a woman's movement only. In fact, I should calculate roughly that the cause of woman's suffrage was championed by quite as many men as women, and opposed, or at any rate not actively helped, by a considerable minority of articulate women. It is true that the more prominent anti-suffragists amongst women-those that are able to write to the papers and get their letters inserted, or to attack the enfranchisement of women in their books-is very small, perhaps not exceeding thirty. Some of these women are paid—that is to say, derive their livelihood from this treachery to their sex; they receive a salary for being anti-suffragists. But a few of them do it from an unconscious perversity of mind; because they are notable examples of that masculinity in modern women which does so much to bridge the gulf always a very shallow and narrow one between the sexes. Being masculine of mind-that is to say, unwomanly—they unconsciously range themselves by the side of the males who are angry at the assaults on man's supremacy; and the feminine element in their character-which exists though it is not predominant is gratified by the intellectual caresses which they receive for going over to the enemy.

But we must not forget that the increment is

opposed by women, or is not as yet openly championed by the vast majority of women. Consequently, to attain our ends we must devote all our efforts to converting to the suffrage cause the vast majority of women in the United Kingdom.

"Suffrage First"

Concurrently with this propaganda it is our duty, if we are far-sighted citizens, to put to the present Ministry, as to its successors, the counsel of perfection, that they should jeopardise their continuance in power by doing justice to the cause of women. We must listen to nothing else in the way of approved legislation, except such measures as are absolutely. necessary for the maintenance of the Kingdom and Empire. We must be distracted by no side issue, no red herring drawn across the path, but perpetually clameur for "suffrage first," for the settlement of this plain issue, the elimination of the sex qualification in the exercise of the Parliamentary vote.

Above all, let us have no more martyrs to this or any other cause. The blood of the martyrs may have been the seed of the Church, still more of this or that: division of the Christian Church; but the religion they bred was too often in its turn a dogmatic and persecuting faith. A live, and, above all, a yapping dog, you know, counts for more than a dead lion.

Wanted an Army of Pores

Let us as Lady Maud Parry has said-point not to our thin brigade of martyrs, but to our vast and increasing army of bores. Bores are virtually immortal and unpunishable. You can do so much boring "within the law." Bores not only enjoy a notorious longevity, but after their death from natural causes some fraternal or filial bore publishes their lives and letters. Until this great reform is: achieved let us decline to discuss anything else. If we go to Lord's to see the Eton and Harrow match, let us talk of suffrage all the time; let us swell the post-bags and postal revenue by letters and postcards, seasonable and unseasonable, addressed to all who are withholding this natural right of-tax-paying citizens, or to all who may aid in securing this reform. Let the wealthy among us put up sky signs: surely if whisky and pickled gherkins may be advertised on the background of heaven the cause of woman should nightly be championed in letters of fire acress the sky? A man citizen has no right to obtrude his politics too much on the neutral ground of social life or on the architecture of our cities, because he has a vote, or can obtain a vote under easily realised conditions. But a woman has no constitutional remedy; she is an outlaw and a helct. Her only effective form of protest at the present day. against legislation of which she disapproves is along those courses of violence and obloquy for which she is punished by the law.

"A Pocling of Our Common Interests"

But I do not wish to dwell too much on the gloomy side of this unequal struggle. The movement for the enfranchisement of women—which, in my opinion, began with that God-blessed invention, the safety bicycle especially the bicycle built for two-has brought far more happiness and sunshine in its train than sorrow and strife. In quarrying for radium we have not yet segregated the radium, but we have discovered gold, silver, copper, tin, and magnetic iron. A delightful comradeship on equal terms has sprung up between men and women. So far from this propaganda leading to a sex war, it is bringing us nearer to a real sex fusion, a pooling of our common interests as human beings. This comradeship of men and women in ordering the affairs of the commune or the county, though it may have done away with silly, old-fashioned gallantry, seems to have induced greater decency in speech and conduct among the men—the conversation of these associated men and women has the wholesome, antiseptic frankness of the surgeon speaking to the nurse: it has replaced the insipid twaddle of the drawing-room by the straight talk of the counting-house or the debating society.

We want to redress the balance, not to tip it unequally in either direction. We want to aim at an equal partnership between the two sexes, nothing more and nothing less. And those men who are busymore and nothing less. And those men who are busying themselves more and more now in the matter of securing the Parliamentary vote for women, and with it, and by it, a complete equality of treatment for the two sexes, are calling this new world into existence to redress the want of balance in the old. They realise that we are working in the bedy-politic only on half-strength. We are most feelishly condemning one half of the community to a condition of virtual non-participation in the supreme work of the action and participation in the supreme work of the nation and the Empire.

THE CRUELTY CASE

Mr. McKenna Pursuing Investigations-In the Event of Release will Avail Himself of Our Special Commissioner's Offer-Debate in the Lords-Lord Selborne Urges the Claim of Widow Mothers-Great Interest Throughout the Country-Further Report by Our Commissioner

the greatest interest has been aroused during the week in the case of Mrs. Savage, and in particular in the thorough-going investigation into the facts carried out by our Special Com-missioner, Miss Neal. There was an important debate in the House of Lords on Tuesday, initiated by Lord Selborne, who specially referred to the facts given in Votes for Women.

Questions were asked in the House of Commons on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. Mr McKenna said he was considering the case, and if he decided to release the woman would avail himself of the offer of Miss Neal to look after her.

Miss Neal has received from several persons sums of money to be used by her in looking after the mother after her release from prison and in providing for the children. The senders express the greatest sympathy with the case and their profound appreciation of the part which this paper has played in directing attention to the true circumstances. Several newspapers have had sympathetic articles.

STORY OF THE CASE

Briefly the story of the case is that a widow, Mrs. Savage, was sentenced by Mr. D'Eyncourt on February 19 at the Clerkenwell Police Court to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for cruelty to her children. Evidence was given that she had kept her three children confined in a dark room without light, that they were in a filthy condition with sores, that they never went out, and that even their. existence was not known to the landlady or the neighbours.

Our special commissioner brought to light the fact of the extreme poverty of the widow, who was a sober, hard-working charwoman, respected by all who knew her, who had apparently taken this course not from cruel motives (for the children were said to be very fond of her), but from a haunting fear that she might be separated from them if the true facts were known. Our Commissioner appealed for efforts to be made to secure the release of the woman and for a sum to provide a decent home, promising herself to be responsible to see that the money was properly spent and the woman kept under

FURTHER REPORT

(From Our Special Commissioner) Tuesday, March 3.

I went to the Home Office to lay the facts before Mr. McKenna through an official whom I knew, but he was not there, so I interviewed another official. He told me that the Guardians of the Islington Workhouse, in whose charge Mrs. Savage's children now are, were considering the question of "adopting them." This means that they would be taken out of the legal guardianship of their mother until after school age.

I went off accordingly at once to see the Clerk to the Guardians, and again met with every courtesy. He allowed me to read the official report made to him by the Relieving Officer, who had seen the woman in project of the made of the inquiries covering the made other inquiries covering the ground on which I had already reported in Votes for Women. I found entire confirmation of my report, with, however, a few additions, all in favour of a more lenient dealing with the mother.

For instance, the report revealed the existence of two grown-up sons who left home (Heaven save the mark!) left home (Heaven save the mark!) when quite young owing to the father's drunkenness and cruelty. These sons she has entirely lost touch with and does not know to-day whether they are alive or dead. They are, with the exception of Polly, officially called Mary Ann, the only wage-earners, and so the mother is left with the three children entirely dependent on her and Polly.

I found the Relieving Officer reports her earnings as 7s. or 8s. a week, con-siderably less than that reported to the magistrate. He reported that the mar-ried daughter had fulfilled her premise

We re glad to be able to report that to me. She had got Polly away from the greatest interest has been aroused the room occupied by her and the mother and children, and was looking mother and children, and was looking after her.

> I then went on to the Remand Home I then went on to the Remand Home and saw two of the children. The youngest of the two, who is about eleven, looked very happy and very bright, and greeted the suggestion of going back to her mother with a beaming smile. They both sent their love to her if I were successful in seeing her. The elder girl is not bright, but she told me she used to do the work of the room and cook stews for them. of the room and cook stews for them all. There is not the least sign in either child of their having been cruelly treated or bullied or cowed. They both expressed a desire to see their mother and live with her again.
>
> At the moment there is no sign of any sores on their heads or of their

> any sores on their heads or of their being in any way unfitted to mix with other children at school. Probably the other child now in the Infirmary will also soon be quite well. I am to see the Committee of the Receiving Home on Wednesday afternoon. I shall then suggest that no steps be taken by the Guardians to the legal adoption of the children until I have tried for at least six months to reinstate them in some sort of decency and comfort.

I have had many letters of sympathy and practical help. One from one of the lady Guardians is as follows:—

As one of the Poor Law Guardians under whose care the children have come, I have had opportunities of enquiring into some of the circumstances, although, unfortunately; only after the case had become public, when the children had already had ten days' care and attention and cheerful surroundings. From what we have seen of the children and heard from them (and also from the attendants and teachers). I of the children and heard from them (and also from the attendants and teachers), I and one of my colleagues are strongly inclined to think that the poor woman has been most harshly punished for what seems to have been largely ignerance and utter want of judgment and probably great stupidity. Unnatural and dreadful though the children's life was, yet the eldest girl of the three has said nothing to suggest active unkindness on the part of their mother, and they quite contradict the mother, and they quite contradict the statement that they were always kept in

the dark.
I think I might mention that it appears that Mrs. Savage never applied for out-relief at the time of her husband's death. If she was a woman of decent character, she would probably have had it granted. She also suggests my seeing the children, which I have already done.

P.S. (Wednesday afternoon).—I have just returned from attending the meet-

Homes, where two of the children have been since the mother's arrest. One of them, they informed me, is fretting for her mother and has been sent to

the infirmary.

The Committee approved of all the plans which I laid before them in the event of the woman's release. They further promised to co-operate with me in every possible way in the case. They will not take any steps to adopt the children for six months, and they will take care of the children until I consider the time has come when the mother is fit to have them: and in the meantime they will allow

the mother to visit them.

With regard to the points made by McKenna in his reply this afternoon, I have already referred to the noon. I have already referred to the fact that the sons ran away from home while the father was alive. This was due to the cruelty and drunken habits of the father. The mother was at this time completely under the domination of her husband, who brutally ill-treated her and prevented her from carrying out her duty to the children. It is therefore not fair to hold the mother responsible for what happened during the husband's lifetime.

I learn from the relieving officer that all the employers of the woman give her a high character for industry and sobriety. To continue to keep her in

sobriety. To continue to keep her in prison will only make her less able to look after her children on her release. Mary Neal.

DEBATE IN THE LORDS Votes for Women" Quoted

The case was raised by Lord Selborne in the House of Lords on Tuesday last. After detailing the main facts which came out in the police-court, and mentioning the sen-tence of six months' hard labour passed on the woman, he said he did not wish for

one moment to say anything against the magistrate. Obviously, his feelings were very much aroused, but he ventured to think that on the face of it there were circumstances in the case to be taken into consideration. For instance, the children were well fed and nourished. There was no sign of personal ill-usage by the mother. The mether was described as a respectable hard-working woman, but she herself was obviously, from the meagre reports he had seen of the case, quite incapable of put-ting her case before the magistrate. She suffered from lack of intelligence, which the children also showed, but she did say that she only earned 10s. a week at most, and that she could not find the money for shoes or clothes to enable her to send the children to school.

Since the case appeared it had been investigated by a lady, whose account had appeared in one of the Suffrage papers, VOTES FOR WOMEN. Probably the Home Office had a copy of that paper in their possession, but he would hand one to the Lord Chancellor. The account given in that paper put a different aspect on the case. He had no means of pronouncing an opinion upon it. The case put forward by the woman now was this: that having these four children and never having been able to earn more than 10s. a week, though one daughter probably earned an additional shilling, she felt quite unable to provide adequate lodgings for the family. She knew that if it were found that there were five people in this one small room she would be prosecuted for overcrowding. She knew that the attention of the Poor Law authorities would be drawn to the case, and that the consequence of that would be the family would be broken up.

Fall Investigation Wanted

The case presented by this lady was not that this poor woman was cruel to her children, but that she was deeply attached to her children, and that the one thing she most dreaded was to be separated from them by the Poor Law authorities. He confessed that it seemed to him to be one of the most piteous cases that he had ever seen recorded in the police-court, if this story which bore on the face of it every evidence of credibility was true, or only partly true. He was sure that now the attention of the Government had been drawn to it that it would be thoroughly investigated, because now that attention had been drawn to it there were plenty of people ready to help this poor woman and her children if she could only be released

her children if she could only be released from prison.

He did not want this opportunity to pass by without saying something about the whole great class of cases, of which this was only one. Was there any class in the whole nation more deserving of their sympathy than those poor widows left with a number of children. It was very hard in any circumstances for one poor woman to earn enough money to keep the family when the bread-winner had gone, but sometimes it was utterly impossible for the mother to go out to work at all, because the children might be so young that they could not be left at home alone, and she could not take them to work with cause the children might be so young that they could not be left at home alone, and she could not take them to work with her. And here it was that the Poor Law stepped in, but how did the Poor Law stepped in, but how did the Poor Law stepped in, but how did the Poor Law stepped in. But how whether it was custom or regulations of the Local Government Board, or whether it was the law—he was told it was the law—but the Poor Law was always ready to step in and help the poor woman in a case like this, but on one condition: that of the hreaking up of her home. The Poor Law would come and take her children from her and put them in some institution, or the Poor Law would take some of the children and board them out, but always with some woman not their own mother. The one person with whom the children were not boarded out was the mother. The consequence was that the home was broken up. Now he would ask their lordships to try and put themselves in the position of a poor woman who had just lost her husband and who had to fight the world with those children. She had either to try and struggle, as he believed this poor woman did—though no doubt she made a very grievous error in the way she did it—to keep the home, or she had to ask the help of the public authorities and see her home broken up and herself separated from her children.

If that was the state of the law he had no hesitation in saying that the law was crassly stupid, and that the right person to look after these children was the mother. It was the mother who should receive the help, and not some other woman. (Hear, hear.) All the law had to do was to see—ought to do—was to see that

the means which contributed to the help of the children was used for the children. If this terrible case was only instrumental in drawing public attention to this state of the law, and procuring an alteration, then this poor woman would have been a martyr in a great cause.

The Lord Chancellor

The Lord Chancellor in reply said that the attention of the Government had been drawn to the case, and it was under in-vestigation just now by the Home Secrevestigation just now by the Home Secretary, with a view to seeing what could be done, not only as regarded the mother, but the children. Some provision would be made for assisting them in some shape or form. The Home Secretary was as much aware as the noble earl could be of the scandal that there should be such a case; but he did not quite agree with the noble earl in representing this poor woman as a martyr to a system. An unfortunate woman she had been, but she was a woman who was greatly to blame.

The Lord Chancellor proceeded to dwell upon the terrible facts which were revealed in the hearing at the police court, and said that there could be no doubt that, whether from ignorance or from altogether mis-

from ignorance or from altogether mis-taken motives, this wretched woman was guilty of almost indescribable cruelty to these children. She ought to have made almost any sacrifice of her feelings rather than do what she did. He did not wonder that the magistrate took a severe view of the case. He did not doubt that this woman was attached to her children, and that she acted under mistaken motives. All that was being taken into considera-tion by the Home Secretary in reviewing

For the rest he entirely agreed with the noble earl that this class of case, of which he was afraid there were many more, dis-closed a condition of things which urgently called for attention. It was a problem not easy to deal with, and would require the best efforts of society to solve.

The Archbishop of Canterbury

The Archbishop of Canterbury

The Archbishop of Canterbury said that
the noble earl had done well to call attention to the case and to the condition or
custom prevailing in some areas of the
country which possibly forced a woman to
choose between separation from her
children or neglect. But he desired
emphatically to point out that this was
not due to the law. In some places the
Guardians, in the exercise of their discretion, made extremely strict regulations
as to the cases in which they would give
our-relief instead of indoor, but there were
plenty of other Boards of Guardians acting
quite differently. It was quite a mistake plenty of other Boards of Guardians acting quite differently. It was quite a mistake to suppose that the ordinary law led to anything so terrible as the noble earl had described. One of the great difficulties Boards of Guardians had to contend with was the fear of the Poor Law which many people possessed. That dread was one of the things they ought to do their level best to do away with.

IN THE COMMONS

On Monday and Tuesday questions were asked by Mr. Keir Hardie, but Mr. McKenna stated that he had not yet received the requisite information.

On Wednesday the following question was put by Mr. Touche: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been drawn to the case of Mrs. Savage, sentenced to six months' imprisonment for the treatment of her children, commonly known as the Hollochildren, commonly known as the Holloway cruelty case; and having regard to the investigations made by Miss Mary Neal, the pressure of poverty from which the mother suffered, the fact that she was of good character generally, and that she fed her children to the best of her ability, does he see his way to recommend the liberation of Mrs. Savage in order that she may be handed over to the care of Miss Neal, or others who are prepared to interest. or others who are prepared to interes themselves in her.

Mr. McKenna's Reply

and a similar one which was simultaneously
put by Mr. Morrell, said:

I am making enquiries in this case, and
shall give full consideration to the plea on
behalf of Mrs. Savage mentioned in the
question. I am bound, however, to have
regard to the interests of the children, and
to consider not only the terrible cruelty
with which they have recently been
treated, but the fact which has come to
my knowledge that three years ago, while
her husband was alive. Mrs. Savage had
to be cautioned as to her neglect of these
same children. I have also just learned
that six years ago, when one of her boys
ran away from home, the children were
suffering from terrible neglect, and the
parents were cautioned.

I am grateful to Miss. Neal for the active
interest she has taken in the case, and if
I find that the release of the woman is
the best course in the interests of the
children, I shall be glad to take advantage
of the assistance Miss Neal has offered.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

"HE WHO IS NOT FOR US"

Heckling Supporters of the Government that Tortures Women and Withholds the Vote

MR. DILLON, M.P., AT YORK

When Mr. Dillon rose to address a Home Rule demonstration at York the other day he was at once confronted with a woman who rose simultaneously from her seat in the hall and said: "Mr. Dillon!" Evidently no woman may look at Mr. Dillon and mention his name; for it was for no worse offence than this that the woman was instantly seized by the stewards and ejected, amid abouts of "Put her out" from the local Liberals and United Irishmen, who had met there in the sacred cause of Liberty. It is interesting to know that any woman who opens her mouth at a political meeting is at once interpreted as being a woman who is going to apply the sentiments of the speaker on the platform to women, and must therefore be instantly thrown out of a Liberal or Labour meeting. It speaks well for the standard that has been established at least by women hecklers at these curious, so-called Progressive gatherings.

At the same meeting, another woman,

for making a similar attempt to remind Mr. Dillon of the existence of women in Ireland, was ejected with such violence that many of the audience protested. Later in the evening, when a Conserva-tive interrupted Mr. Dillon, a woman in the gallery protested at his not being also ejected, upon which he walked out of his own accord.

The assault on the second woman interrupter was thus described by the writer of a letter in the Yorkshire Herald (February 23):-

"While she was being forcibly seized by the stewards, an individual behind at-tempted a brutal assault with a stick. Fortunately a lady next to him grasped the stick and held it till the 'suffragette' was removed. The person with the stick was not a steward, and it should be clearly understood that a kindness was done him in preventing him from committing an illegal assault for which, had his efforts been successful, he would rightly have been amenable to the law. His attempt was clearly visible to many around, but no effort was made to warn him or to remove him by the official element. The lady who interfered was subjected to the remark by this hooligan 'that he would land her one with his stick, too, if she were not care-

The writer, who signs himself "Ajax," concludes by saying: "It is all very well to speak of liberty and legality and justice from the platform, but let us have a little more legality and liberty and chivalry in the body of the hall."

No woman would have to worry about chivalry if she could secure simple justice!

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., SHOUTED

At Leicester

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald can speak nowhere in public without being instantly reminded by women in the audience that he openly supports a Government that is responsible for the unenfranchisement and the torture of women. At Leicester las week, at his "welcome home" gathering in the De Montfort Hall, several Suffragists heckled him as soon as he began to speak, and continued to do so throughout his speech. One of these interruptions was particularly appropriate. The speaker remarked that the Opposition could have defeated the Government on the South African question, but though it hated the Government, it hated trade unionism more. and therefore it walked away.
"The same as you do!" called the in-

exorable woman's voice, reminding him how much more he hated Woman Suffrage than the Government he once promised to turn out in its name. No doubt the annoyance caused him by this reminder provoked the rather insulting little fecture he addressed to his interrupters at the end of his speech.

At the Opera House
At the great meeting of welcome to the mine deported Labour leaders in the Opera House last Friday, the proceedings were perfectly orderly until Mr. MacDonald rose to his feet, when a storm of Suffragist interruptions broke out on all sides, "The din was terrific: the scene remarkable," says the Daily News. It was in

vain that the speaker endeavoured to curry favour with his audience by dubbing his interrupters "middle-class men and women" who were "the enemies of Labour." He could not get a hearing. As soon as some were ejected, others rose up in their place in all parts of the auditorium; and when he at last sat down, few could have said what he had been speaking about.

But everybody knew that women were indignant with him for the false part he had played with regard to their cause.

At Huddersfield

At the Victoria Hall, Huddersfield, last Sunday evening, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was on his feet for three-quarters of an hour before a sufficient number of his in-terrupters had been ejected to enable him

terripters had been ejected to enable him to obtain a hearing. The police were called in to effect this artificial unanimity, and in the process free fights took place in the body of the hall.

And all because a politician makes a promise to women that he does not keep, and supports a Government he is in honour bound to turn out of office if it does not give votes to women. How much simpler to be honest, one would have thought! to be honest, one would have thought!

SEQUEL TO THE NELSON MEETING Important I.L.P. Resignations

week or two ago several Suffragists were ejected from a meeting in the Grand Theatre, Nelson, at which Mr. MacDonald was speaking, and one of them, Miss H. M. Beanland, a former Guardian, has since re-

Beanland, a former Guardian, has since resigned her membership of the I.L.P. In her letter of resignation she wrote:—
"When I joined this Society eleven years ago it was an Independent Labour Party. To-day it is a party which welcomes on its platforms such men as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and others who support a Liberal capitalist Government that shoots down men who dare to strike, and imprisons and tortures women who dare imprisons and tortures women who dare to demand a vote."

As Bad as the Liberals

In a Press interview Miss Beanland said: "The Labour Party is supposed to be pledged to the Women's Suffrage question, piedged to the Women's Suffrage question, and yet everyone knows how they have acted in the House of Commons. Therefore I say that Mr. MacDonald and others are traitors to the party. We, as Suffragists, have put up with professions from the Liberals, but I personally feel I cannot continue to put up with the attitude of the Labour Party, because they make greater professions than the Liberals have done."

She also said she knew personally of three or four who had taken a similar course to herself, and she also knew a pro-minent male member who had resigned.

LABOUR PARTY AND SUFFRAGE

According to the Labour Leader (February 26), "the Labour Party is now preparing to raise the women's question by introducing an Adult Suffrage Bill. We should like to see a national campaign organised in favour of adult suffrage. There is no reason why we should not make it a prominent issue at the next election."

If the Labour Party really wants to help women to get the vote, it can oppose the Government on every measure until it has made them enfranchise women on equal terms with men. Time enough then to talk about giving more votes to men.

MR. CLYNES, M.P., ON MILITANCY

At the opening of the third day of the Suffrage Market in Manchester, last Saturday—an enterprise which added 21,061 to the funds of the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage—Mr. J. B. Clynes, M.P., spoke of the immense accrifice and personal service evoked by the woman's movement, and went on to say with regard to militarity—

"The women who had committed certain excesses in the advocacy of their own cause were, after all, pursuing their work according to the way in which they thought it could be made most effective, and though their methods might be causing irritation and might be doing harm to the cause in alienating sympathisers, they must remember that there was greater work to be done than the condemning of those who, in any mistaken way, might wish to reach the same ends as they themselves desired."

He added as his opinion that one result of the delay in granting the vote to women would be that it would be granted on a much wider basis than would have been the case a few years ago.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND | that the advocates of Woman Suffrage SUFFRACE LORD ROBERT CECIL

Lord Robert Cecil, in a speech delivered to a crowded meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Associa-tion at the Bechstein Hall last Friday, made two interesting points. The first had a strong political significance. Speaking of the steady and continuous advance made by the cause of Woman Suffrage in the last few years, he said that although that advance had not always been made in the same way-but for a combination of circumstances, for instance, a Parliamentary triumph would have been secured in the passage of the Conciliation Bill—the striking and important thing to remember was that, whatever the prospects in the House of Commons, public opinion was steadily growing stronger, and he added:

"I am credibly informed that so large and powerful is the majority in the Liberal Party that is in favour of this reform, that no Liberal candidate is acceptable now who is not in favour of Woman Suffrage."

A Danger to Conservatives

The second point of interest in Lord Robert Cecil's speech was in the nature of a warning to Conservative women. Speaking of the alliance between a certain section of Suffragists and a Party that was pledged to Woman Suffrage-an alliance which was not logically assailable, and which he believed to have had an advantageous effect-he desired to point out to his audience the existence of a curious law in political matters, that co-operation with a Party on any one point carried with it a tendency to end in co-operating on other points also. "I do not complain of this," added Lord Robert, "but I am drawing the attention of this Society to the pheno-

It was evident that the speaker feared the conversion of Conservative women to the propaganda of the two Parties, Liberal and Labour, whose growing belief in suffrage he had mentioned, for in the course of his speech he said it was of great importance from a purely party point of view

should not be confined to the other two parties.

IF ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME

Questioned by a Suffragust on Woman Suffrage, Mr. Haddock, M.P. for North Lonsdale, said at a meeting in his constituency last week: "I tell you frankly that if it becomes part of the Unionist policy I will support it."

This is interesting, because from his other remarks it was quite obvious that Mr. Haddock could not be described as an ardent Suffragist. Great is the power of the Party measure!

WHAT MR. GALSWORTHY LEFT UNSAID Mr. Galsworthy, in a letter to the Times last Saturday, brings a strong indictment against a Parliament which wastes its time over measures that do not touch the lives of people or beasts, and leaves women to be sweated, birds to be caged or killed for their plumage, boys to be overworked in blind alley employments, people to be foully housed, children to be underfed, and beasts to be slaughtered inhumanely.

It is all true—so is much more that Mr. Galsworthy has left unsaid:—the torture of women in prison, for instance, for demanding, in ways that he perhaps dislikes, the power that will help them to deal effectually with the very evils he so rightly deplores. Has Mr. Galsworthy not studied the list of reforms that have been brought about in those States of America where women are enfranchised—the Child Labour Law, the Women's Eight Hour Law and Minimum Wage Law, the Law that enforces the regulation and inspection of public slaughter-houses, laws to protect children and young girls? Is he not aware that in Australia and New Zealand, since women won the vote, most of the things he deplores have been or are being remedied? We think he cannot know these things, or he would have ended his letter to the Times by an appeal for the speedy enfranchisement of women, so that humane reformers such as he may have the effectual support of those who at present look on helplessly while a Parliament whom they pay but cannot control muddles the real business of the nation. women are enfranchised—the Child Labour

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TAVOURS FROM WOMEN CHICAMORRO

CONGRATULATIONS AND THANKS

Readers and Vorss ron Women Fellows,—You will wish me in your name to congratulate all those amongst our number whose help and work made of our great meeting in the Kingsway Hall last Thursday so triumphant a success. By the concentration of effort and the practical resource and energy of our colleagues, the large hall was crowded. The Stewards, who were in every part of the building, report that a very large proportion of the audience was composed of newcomers. Many of these had not attended a suffrage meeting before.

The sale of 500 copies of Votes for Women inside the hall speaks for itself. A large number of menwere present, and were heartily welcomed by the Fellowship, which includes both men and women in its ranks. I know of many Fellows who brought parties of unconverted friends. One brought as

many as twenty. All this means growth, extension, the carrying of the movement fiato new circles, the winning of new influences and new support.

A special word of this the many the left is due to the workers who decorated Kingsway Hall so beautifully in our colours and the army of Stewards who so ably and charmingly carried out their duties in every part of the building every part of the building.

What you-each and all-have to do is to follow up the advantage. Send to me for Membership Cards, and let no week pass without the enrolment of some new convert to become a new worker and to help in passing on the lamp of truth which spreads the light. Be unremitting also in your endeavour to secure new subscribers to Vores for Women by carrying order-forms about with you and getting them filled in by your friends and those with whom you are brought in touch in the business of daily life. Leave no effort untried to increase the influence and the circulation of the paper.—In the Fellowship,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Fellows succeeded in selling five hundred copies of Votes for Women at our Kingsway Hall meeting last week, and nearly a hundred outside in the street. Street sales are brisk; and interest is aroused wherever we go. Fellows are always coming to the office with accounts of propaganda work which they were able to do while selling. This shows what a valuable means is at hand for those who have any leisure at all "to spread the light."

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THE PIONEER PLAYERS "Daughters of Ishmael"

On Sunday night the Pioneer Players produced "Daughters of Ishmael," by A. D'Este-Scott, a dramatisation of Reginald Wright Kauffman's novel. "Because nobody talks about it is why it goes on, it ain't respectable," says the girl who has been trapped by a White Slaver; and this is the central idea of the play, as of the novel from which it is taken. It shows the victim's miserable home, her down-trodden mother and brutal father; then the dreadful house to which she is enticed and its inmates, who have become hardened to their surroundings, to which they were brought by social and industrial conditions rather than by their own deeds. Finally, after escaping from this terrible life, the girl tries to regain a footing in the world, but is repulsed on every side; everyone shrinks from her, even her own mother—and at last the very procuress; and so she is left, spurned by the lowest. The play ends in tragedy on every side.

Miss Cathleen Nesbitt was good as the bullied and poverty-stricken mother, and Miss Marjorie Patterson put much force into her exceedingly difficult part of the victim.

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WAR AGAINST WOMEN IN INDISTRY

Dear Editors,-The problems raised by Miss Eva Gore-Booth's article on "War Against Women in the Bookbinding and Printing Trades" and Mr. H. D. Harben's letter on "Women's Work and Wages" are, I think, more complicated than they appear. From the very beginning of trade unionism the men's organisations have placed two barriers to the employment of women in the more skilled and better-paid processes of industry—(a) the legal or customary exclusion of females both from the occupation itself and from the technical instruction required for its exercise; and, when this barrier has been broken down (b) the insistence that men and women ostensibly engaged in the same work should be paid at the same rates.

With regard to the first barrier, there has ceased to be any controversy among persons of enlightenment: In one cocupation after another, brain or hand, this barrier is being knocked down. In cases such as some branches of the bookbinding and printing trades, where it still continues, no one defends its existence. The remedy is to get women adequately represented on Education Committees and adequately organised in trade unions; and, most important of all, to secure for them the rights of political citizenship and the consequent power to bring pressure on public authorities and private employers.

The Question of Equal Rates of Pay The second barrier is, I think, more difficult to overthrow or circumvent. There are, in the ranks of the woman's movement, many earnest and sincere thinkers who are perpetually insisting on "equal rates for equal work." The officials of the male trade unions very naturally make use of this "Shibboleth" in order to exclude women from employment in particular trades or particular processes. In establishment after establishment employers have been compelled to refuse to employ, and sometimes even to dismiss, women on the ground that they could not earn the standard trade union rates. There is, for instance, little doubt that this one condition of "equal rates for equal work" would, if it were universally enforced, exclude all but a few female compositors, and would certainly prevent the female bookbinders from getting the work now monopolised by men. Where, too, are to-day those feminists who used to insist with fervour that women should be permitted to offer to do any work (and therefore employers allowed to give work) at any rate of wages with which the women concerned might individually choose to be content? It is significant of the revolution in economic opinion that this particular assertion of the individual woman's freedom to do what she likes, in the way that she likes, is wholly out of fashion. Personally, I think the reaction may have gone too far, and that the present insistence on mechanical equality of remuneration between men and women might lead to an undesirable restriction of women's employment. The problem seems to me extraordinarily difficult, and I do not want to dogmatise about it. But it is clear that there must be some degree of autonomy in the women's organisations to settle for themselves the rates at which their members shall take work, independently of the convenience of the men. As a matter of fact, a policy of identical rates will probably, in nearly all cases, exclude one or other from employment; that is to say, if the rate is practically a maximum as well as a minimum, as it necessarily is when fixed by a public authority for its own guidance. We have been told on high authority that the insistence on identical rates for men and women has actually excluded wemen from employment in the Postal and Telegraph Service of the United States and Canada. On the other hand, everyone knows that identical rates for school teachers has, in practice, gone far to exclude men from the public education service of the United States.

The Question of Equal Faculties

What is the explanation of these apparently contradictory facts? It cannot be the simple one that, in America, salaries in the Postal and Telegraph Service are higher than in the teaching profession. Enquiry would doubtless prove that they are, on the whole, distinctly lower. Is it, on the one hand, easier at a given price to get men of a certain standard of efficiency for the monotonous and continuous strain of the Postal and Telegraph Service than women's Is it, on the other hand, in America, easier to find women with the finer faculty of teaching and able and willing to devote themselves to it than it is to find equally qualified men who are willing to accept the salary given by the Education authority? If this

be so, the facts point to a segregation of men and women in different professions or branches of pro-fessions, not any compulsory segregation, but a cus-tomary segregation according to the salaries fixed for particular services compared with the faculties required for efficiency in such services.

In conclusion, it is clear that this most difficult question of equal opportunities and equal conditions for men and women imperatively calls for two preliminary conditions: the full participation of women in the control of political and industrial organisation; and, hardly less indispensable, far more information than we now possess on the needs and faculties of men and women respectively, and much more independent research by women into these economic problems specially affecting women-such, for instance, as those with which the Fabian Women's Group is struggling .- Yours, &c.,

Beatrice Webb (Mrs. Sidney Webb).

PRISON UNVISITED

(With sincere apologies to "Yarrow.")

By Cœur de Lion I had been The statue with a sword on-Had made my little speech, and seen The cops come round in cordon; Then as they shut me in the cells Until the House had risen, Whate'er betide," I proudly cried, "I'm sure to go to prison."

"Though Pentonville," up spake the Law, "Is lying right before you, We'll bind you over, pay your fine; Do let us, we implore you! It's not the place for us to go Whose hats and collars glisten; Enough if in our hearts we know Women are safe in prison.

"Let prison folk to Wormwood Scrubbs Or Holloway be taken; You've a position of your own Ah, why should that be shaken? A gaol's for him who startes and begs Or jumps what isn't his'n; A gaol's for her who has no vote -We can't send you to prison!

"What's prison but a poor hotel For such as have gone un ler? The Ritz, the Carlton, I know well, Are worthier of your wonder." Strange words they seemed for one to say And bid a culprit listen; It filled my bosom with dismay He thus could speak of prison.

"If grinding poverty should come" (So he reproved my folly),
"If friends should drive you from their home To dirt and melancholy, If clothes be rags, and voting power.

Down to a woman's wizen,

Do it again, and from that hour You'll find a home in prison."

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FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1914.

WOMEN AND HOME RULE

Next Monday the Home Rule Bill comes on for its second reading in the House of Commons, and Mr. Asquith has promised to take that opportunity of outlining the concessions which he is prepared to make. If these find favour in the eyes of those who are otherwise opponents of the measure they will be subsequently embodied in a number of suggested clauses which will be submitted to the House of Lords concurrently with the original measure.

To men and women whose supreme political interest is woman suffrage this announcement is of importance from two points of view; firstly, in so far as it affects the general political situation, and secondly, as it affects the position of Irishwomen in the future Government of Ireland.

The fact that the second reading debate and Mr. Asquith's announcement is to be made thus early in the session means that the crisis will come at once, and is not to be postponed until the autumn, as many persons had predicted. There are four possible contingencies :-

(1) The concessions may be accepted by Unionists, and the Home Rule Bill, as amended, may be carried by consent. This would leave the date of the general election uncertain.

(2) The Government may decide not to put the Parliament Act into operation, but to dis solve almost immediately, so as to test the feeling of the electors upon the Home Rule Bill. This would mean a general election in April or May.

(3) The Government may carry the Bill over the veto of the House of Lords by means of the Parliament Act, and shortly afterwards dissolve. This would mean a general election in the summer or early autumn.

(4) The Government may decide to carry over the veto of the House of Lords not only the Home Rule Bill and Welsh Disestablishment Bill, but also the Plural Voting Bill. As this cannot happen until April, 1915, the general election would in this event be postponed until after that

While any of these contingencies is possible, we believe that the third (involving a general election in a few months' time) is the most probable. In any case, suffragists must be prepared for the dissolution to take place at any moment, without more than a few days' notice

Now how does this affect the general position of

woman suffrage? It means that there is no prospect of women voting at the general election unless there is immediately a complete change in the policy of the Government towards this question. It is the duty of suffragists therefore to call upon the electors to be ready to vote against the Liberal Government, which during its whole term of office has failed to carry into law this fundamental principle of democracy, and which has met the passionate demand for justice firstly by contemptuous disregard, and secondly by trickery and coercion.

Turning from the aspect of the general question to the particular case of the position of Irishwomen, we repeat what we have often said before, that on the general merits of Home Rule for Ireland we express no opinion and take no sides. We are solely concerned to see that whatever form of government be decided upon woman shall be represented in it.

Now it is the peculiar defect of the Home Rule Bill, as it stands at present, that not only are Irishwomen excluded from the franchise at the commencement, but that the Irish Parliament is expressly prohibited from extending the franchise to them for at least three years. When it is remembered that the Parliament set up in Ireland is essentially local and subordinate, the scandal of this exclusion will be fully realised; and it is noteworthy that the recently nominated Governor-General of Australia, Sir Munro Ferguson, himself opposed to the enfranchisement of women for the Imperial Parliament, supported the extension of the franchise to women in the Home Rule Bill.

When the Bill was passing through the House of Commons for the first time (in 1912) this question was taken up by Mr. Snowden, and an amendment was moved by him to alter the franchise for the Irish Parliament from the existing Parliamentary register. to the existing local government register. This would have had the effect of giving votes to women who fulfilled the same qualifications as the male voters. It was rejected by the House of Commons not on its merits, but on the ground that the larger question of the extension of the franchise to women throughout the whole country was subsequently to be voted upon in connection with the Government's Electoral Reform Bill.

Our readers do not need to be reminded of the catastrophe which overtook this wider measure and how the Government's "great opportunity" for woman suffrage proved to be non-existent, but it is possible that they have forgotten that these pledges which were never carried out had not only served to "torpedo" the Conciliation Bill, but had also secured the defeat of Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill.

The opportunity for reviving this question will come on the "suggestion" stage of the Home Rule Bill this year. And this suggestion stage will be based on the discussion of the concessions which Mr. Asquith is putting forward next Monday with a view to conciliating opponents of the measure. It is essential that among the "suggestions" which are sent up to the House of Lords shall be an amendment granting the franchise to Irishwomen. There is no valid reason why this should not be done. The vast majority of the Liberal Party profess to be woman suffragists, and Mr. Asquith himself and his antisuffragist colleagues in the Cabinet could easily save their faces by emphasising the local and subordinate character of the Irish Parliament.

If it is not done, we look to the Ulster women, who have already secured from Sir Edward Carson the promise of enfranchisement in the "Provisional Government of Ulster," to stiffen the backs of their leaders to refuse all concessions which do not include the enfranchisement of themselves and their Nationalist sisters in the Home Rule Bill. Faced with the alternative of woman suffrage or the shipwreck of Home Rule, Mr. Redmond, anti-suffragist though he be, would not hesitate to choose the former as the lesser of two evils; and his decision, coupled with the desire of the Government to secure a settlement by consent, would achieve the desired result.

RISONS AND PRISONERS

A Review of Lady Constance Lytton's Book by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Part I-A General Impression of the Story

A book about Prisons and Prisoners, for which the modern world has been waiting, saw the light of publication last Wednesday. It is written by one whose thought and passion have for many years been devoted to the subject of Prison Reform, one who, after having studied the problem as far as it was possible to do from the outside, was led by extraordinary experiences to an inside knowledge both of the prison system and of the psychology and the fate of prisoners.

Thrice, it will be remembered, in her own name and once in the guise of an insignificant, friendless weman has the writer of this book* (Lady Constance Lytton) served a term of imprisonment in connection with the great struggle for political emancipation in which women have been engaged during the last eight years. Her first initiation into the inside of the problem was given in Holloway Gaol, London; the second experience occurred in the prison in Newcastle, the third in Liverpool, and the fourth again in London.

The spirit in which this autobiography is written is expressed in a very remarkable foreword addressed "To Prisoners." In the substance of her story it is also foreshadowed in a letter written to her Mother on the eve of her first imprisonment, a letter which was posted after her arrest, in which she attempts to soften the blow by an explanation of the motive which led to the step then irrevocably taken:

Prisons, as you know, have been my hobby. What maternity there lurks in me has for years past been gradually awakened over the fate of prisoners, the deliberate, cruel harm that is done to them, their souls and bodies, the ignorant exasperating waste of good opportunities in connection with them, till now the thought of them, the yearning after them, turns in me and tugs at me as vitally and irrepressibly as ever a physical child can call upon its

Comparison with Dostolevsky

To the writer of "Prison and Prisoners" the facts of life and of her own experience are seen in their naked truth, without illusion and without glamour. There is nothing written in the English language with which this book can be likened. With regard to its literary style, it is to the Russian writers that one turns for comparison. Tolstoi has the same sincerity-sincerity pitiless to persons, ruthless to self-burning its way to the heart of truth. Dostoievsky tells his tragic story with the same objective simplicity. Like the latter, Lady Constance Lytton creates her impression by no subjective analysis, by no sweeping generalisation, but by a clear and incisive delineation of facts. At first sight it almost seems as though the piling up of detail upon detail is calculated to baffle the mind that strives to arrive at some definite conclusion, but the effect of this method is extraordinary. You hardly realise that you are interested in the pages until you find yourself holding your breath in sustained excitement. The tale goes on and on in a curious monotone; there is no working up of any situation to a climax, and yet you are shaken to the very soul by the mysterious emotional demand that once made neither slackens nor intensifies, but persists from the beginning of the book to the end.

"Prison and Prisoners," though intimately bound up with the struggle for women's enfranchisement, will outlive-if I mistake not-the popular memory of the Woman Suffrage agitation long after the vote is won, for it is a human document, and that of the most poignant kind. It is an intimate revelation expressed in terms of action of the pilgrimage of a soul suddenly awakened to spiritual reality. Incidentally, it will serve for many years as a standard text-book for advocates of Penal Reform. It will remain for generations to come a witness to the horror of forcible feeding. But it will mean very much more than this to those future citizens of our country who will inherit the issues of the struggles of to-day. It belongs to the category of those rare books that by reason of some subtle magic of the pen do not grow old and pass away with the generation that gives

them birth because they are written with the blood that feeds the heart of humanity.

The Depths of Human Experience

How the depths of human experience are sounded will be realised by the following excerpt. It is a description of how some prisoners (of which Lady Constance as Jane Warton was one, a young girl, her friend, Elsie Howey, another) were conveyed from an outlying police station to the central one in Liverpool at 4 o'clock on a February morning :-

At about 3.30 or 4 o'clock, Black Maria came and we were put in. This was different from the prison wans I had hitherto seen; it was not broken up into separate cell-like compartments, but was in the form of a double omnibus, one side for men and the other for women, divided by a thin wooden partition, each side having two seats facing each other and extending the length of the carriage. There were no windows; the light filtered in only through the windows; the light filtered in only through the grated ventilators. . . . Our destination was the Bridewell Police Station, but we called on our way at the other police stations in the town, picking up whatever unfortunates they had netted in during the night. . . We had not gone far before the rumbling and jolting ceased, the door was thrown open with a sound of keys and great rattling, a shaft of light fell along the 'bus, and lit up momentarily ourselves and those who were thrown in to add to our number. These were the only in to add to our number. These were the only moments when the occupants had a chance of seeing each other. The door then hastily closed again;



(Photo: Holman and Paget.) LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON

darkness, jolting and noise reasserted their grim influence. Before we had finished, we had taken up six women in all. At the first stop, two Irish girls were let in; some men were put into the other side. The girls were only sufficiently drunk to make them intensely cheerful; they laughed and talked gaily at first, and shouted lustily to their companions on the other side. But the effect of the pitch darkness was depressing, and after a time their communications stopped. They sat opposite to us near the door, and whenever we had a throw of light I watched them, for they gave me immense pleasure. They were quite young, with beautiful arms, which one could see, as their sleeves were rolled up; they had shawls on, and their faces were fresh and strong, and pretty, too, had it not been for the effect of the drink. At another stop, a little woman with fair hair and a fluttering white boa on a white dress got in. She was dead drunk. At the next stop, two, who seemed really deformed with hair and a fluttering white bos on a white dress got in. She was dead drunk.

Stop, two, who seemed really deformed with poverty, were shot in, their complexions yellow, their hands gnarled and worn, their faces of utmost sadness. They said something to each other as they got in—something to give comfort; but their sentences were full of oaths of a senseless kind, and their speech, too, was broken with drink.

Finally, it was another type altogether who was let in. A woman, who looked any age, her face of utmost melancholy had yet the appearance of having drunk heavily; she had all the hang of an "habitual," her clothes were the dregs of clothes and tumbling off her. When the door was opened for her to be put in, she murmured a few broken words to the effect that her salvation didn't lie in prison.

The Irish girls and the little woman with the white boa were young; the others looked old and worn out.

like a stream of molten lava, has transfixed the phenomena that entered into the range of her experience at these moments of mingled agony and exaltation, and, while preserving the actuality of their several forms, has given them permanence and made of them monuments in history. The following passage, that follows right on after the foregoing extract, is one of the most pathetic yet beautiful pages of literary autobiography ever yet written :-

"We are all of one fate"

I think I shall never forget the self-reproach that stung through my whole being when I had thought my intervention necessary between one prisoner and another. On passing some unusual light in the street, which momentarily lit up our van, not enough to see our faces but only to distinguish the outlines of forms, I noticed that the prisoner opposite Elsie Howey, my neighbour, was leaning forward and bent towards her. The momentary flash of light was too short-lived to judge whether this was a rapid movement, perhaps, as I thought, of assault or drunken affection, or whether it was that the position of physical weariness could find no rest from leaning back on the walls of the jolting van. I was unable to see Elsie, but I imagined that she too might be scared by the attention of the prisoner opposite. As the darkness closed in upon us, I thrust my hand into hers; it was welcomed, but quite unnecessary. Before the end of our drive two things were clear—the prisoners might be evil-minded towards all the rest of the world, they might be blind drunk or raging with misery at their own plight, but the one thing impossible to them would have been to hurt a fellow-prisoner. Every one of those pathetic human wrecks, deformed by drink, so that one could not tell if they were guilty of crime besides, overtaken at a moment when their selfso that one could not tell if they were guilty of crime besides, overtaken at a moment when their self-respect was lowest, and captured by a punitive system which would do its utmost to dissolve what remained of it, as they were thrust into the black cavity of the van, made a vigorous appeal to their own courage and met with instant response from their unknown companions. It might be only some drunken joke—it was almost invariably accompanied by a laugh—but for each one it had a call on their utmost strength, and it made its appeal to those in the van. Issuing from different spheres of existin the van. Issuing from different spheres of existence, each one representing lives the most remote from one another, scarcely any two alike in a single respect as to detail, their one point of similarity being poverty and that they had given way to drink, the instinct of our first contact, doubtless to each one of us, was repulsion, mistrust, fear one another. But it lasted for less than a flash of a moment, less than the inhaling of one breath. Our differences were there, but for the time unimportant, whereas the all-embracing fact was our similarity of fate. No need for social laws to bind that company, no rules of the club were necessary; the code of instinct, rules of the club were necessary; the code of instinct, expediency and honour were all one and spontaneous to us. "We are all of one blood" may be a greatie, but "We are all of one fate" is, while it lasts, a better; the bond of the outcast needs no seal.

A Tale for all Times

Every prisoner to whom Lady Constance gives form and gesture becomes unconsciously an advocate for the new deliverance of humanity which will be brought about by the emancipation of women. It remains true, however-and that is the artistic triumph of the book-that the arguments and the history concerning the Votes for Women Movement only find expression through the medium of the writer's own intimate vision and experience. No hearsay evidence is produced, no third-party statement or views are expressed. The entire substance of these pages have passed through the furnace of the author's own heart and been moulded again into their present form by her own intellect.

As an exposition of the practice of forcible feeding in prisons, this first-hand story is simply invaluable, and will prove the best possible means in the hands of all decent-minded and thinking people of awakening the whole country to the scandal of this unprecedented method of torture. The doctor of Walton Gaol, Liverpool, referring to the use of the tube in the case of Lady Constance Lytton, admitted to her sister, Lady Betty Balfour, that "she was practically asphyxiated every time." With this part of the story I will deal more fully in the second part of my review next week.

By every woman and man who has taken part in the modern crusade against subjection, cruelty, and wrong which this struggle for women's emancipatien means, this volume will be placed amongst the few priceless possessions which remain when the clinging to material things has been surrendered.

But its direct and immediate appeal extends far beyond the confines of any movement, however significant and great. It is a story for all sorts and all conditions of women and men, irrespective of individual differences in matters of political and social faith; a tale of physical and spiritual heroism The spiritual passion of the author of this book, for all countries and for all times.

[&]quot;Prisons and Prisoners." By Lady Constance Lytton Jane Warton, Spinster. (London: Heinemann. 3s. 6d. net.)

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Great Meeting at the Kingsway Hall

VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellows turned up in force at the Kingsway Hall on Thurs-day evening in last week, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence took the chair, and Pethick Lawrence took the chair, and stirring speeches on many phases of the women's fight for enfranchisement were made by Sir Harry Johnston, Miss Lena Ashweil, Mr. George Lansbury and Mr. Pethick Lawrence. The audience was typical of the world-wide Fellowship that had called it together. It was evident, as the evening wore on, that every section of Suffragist thought, militant and non-militant extreme and moderate was remilitant, extreme and moderate, was re-presented there, besides a sprinkling of foreigners and visitors from the Empire overseas, and a very large number of the ordinary public who had come to learn, who in many cases had never been drawn to a Suffrage meeting before. The purple, white and red banners and flowers, with which a band of Fe lows had worked hard for some hours to decorate the hall, added a charming background and an element of light and colour to the impressive scene. The two resolutions were passed with acclamation, and a good collection was taken, the total receipts of the meeting, including promises, amounting to over £310. Over five hundred papers were sold by the stewards, who, in their white frocks and their Fellowship regalia reproduced the note of colour, in the decorations all over the hall.

A distinctive feature of the meeting was the presence on the platform of some of those who had been arrested two nights before for making a protest outside the House of Commons against forcible feeding. Seventeen Suffrage Societies were represented also on the platform; and among others who were there as guests in support of the meeting were Lady Johnston, Miss Mary Neal, and Mr. Yone

Noguchi. Much enthusiasm was aroused by messages from Olive Schreiner and Mr. H. D. Harben, which were read aloud from the chair.

THE RESOLUTIONS

The text of the two resolutions was as

(1) That this meeting, regarding Votes for Women as the foremes, question of the day, which should take prece ence of every (th'r reform, protests against its omi-sicn from the King's Sprech, and calls rpon Ministers to introduce and carry it to law a measure, removing the sex disability to the franchise, during tle presert session of Parliament.

(2) That this meeting expresses its indignation at the barbarous methods employed in dealing with woman suf-frage prisoners, and in particular at the sham less disregard shown by the Government of the principle that justice should be no "respecter of persons."

THE MESSAGES

From Miss Olive Schreiner

I regret I cannot be with you at your meeting on the 26th. All gatherings and all organisations in which men and women work side by side have my deepest sympathy. Nothing in the England of to-day gives me so much joy as the earnestness with which many men are fighting in the cause of woman's emancipation-which is indeed but one phase of the great battle for human freedom.

From Mr. H. D. Harben

I much regret that a previous engagement prevents my attending your meeting to-night, but I have pleasure in enclosing £20 towards the collection. I feel with this question of forcible feeding and treatment of suffrage prisoners that every-thing that can be done constitutionally has been done and without avail. What we men have to do now is to make up our minds whether we are to continue to sit still and watch the Home Secretary prostituting the criminal law for political purposes, or whether we will definitely take other steps to stop it. We may be in the minority, but we represent the decent feelings of an enormous number of the best citizens of both sexes—feelings which no Government can outrage indefinitely if we could only find means to give them adequate expression. Women are suffering in prison every day, and it

is our fault and our responsibility if we | enthusiasm, and we give passages from it | do not exhaust every resource to bring this tragedy to an end.

THE SPEECHES THE CHAIR

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who had an enthusiastic welcome, opened the meeting by reading aloud the two messages given above, and pointing out that Olive Schreiner emphasised the meaning of the Votes for Women Fellowship, which stood for "the association of men and women together in this great fight for human liberty." She went on to welcome in the name of the Fellowship those guests assembled on the platform, congratulating heartily those who had been recently discharged from the police court-"shall we say without a stain upon their character? (Laughter.) No, we will say, having honoured themselves by the public-spirited way in which they in their persons have carried out the protest which we all feel against the refusal of the Government to give votes to women, and against the hateful coercion of the Cat and Mouse Act and the practice of forcible feeding." (Ap-

The meeting was assembled for three purposes: (1) To assert publicly that the position of women in this country, especially of the working class, is so deplorable that it cannot be tolerated any longer;
(2) To demand, because the only remedy
lies in enfranchisement, a Government measure, and in default of this to weaken the Government in every possible way until their defeat and destruction were brought about; (3) To pass a vote of censure upon methods of coercion that have established a new precedent for human barbarity and human torture. (Loud applause.)

" HIK."

Mrs. Lawrence then touched upon one point in connection with the first of these three points, the plight of the widowed mother of the working classes. She told the story of the working woman who was sent to prison, and when asked her "occupation," replied "Wife and mother." The wardress entered her occupation as "Nil." (Laughter.) "Now," proceeded Mrs. Law-rence, "does not that action of the Government official sum up exactly the attitude of the Government towards the wives and mothers of this country?" (Applause.) She then proceded to draw a true and telling picture of the widow with children, left penniless, with the prospect of going into the sweated labour market, or into the workhouse, and never seeing her children again. She spoke of mothers she had known who had gone mad through the fear of separation from their children, and alluded amid sympathetic murmurs from the audience to the case reported in last week's Vores for Women. It was an iniquity and a disgrace that women's children should be taken from them. It was further unnecessary. In New Zealand, where women had the vote, there was a law giving State pensions to widows. In this country there was only an Insurance Act from which widows had been delibevalidity or premature old age.

Totes for Women Fir. t

"There is one reform," cdled the speaker, "besides Votes for Women, for which I would go singing to my grave, and that is to see the motherhood of this country honoured, and the homes of the people respected by the introduction of a national scheme of pensions to widowed mothers. You and I will never see that reform until we first win Votes for Women," (Applause.)

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in introducing Sir Harry Johnston, who was to move the first resolution, said his views on militancy first resolution, said his views on militancy might not please many in the audience, but appealed for a fair hearing for his speech, and for criticism to be left to those three of the speakers on the platform who had endured the hunger strike, and two of whom had been forcibly fed. This appeal had the desired effect, and Sir Harry Johnston's views on militancy were received for the most part in ellence. The other portions of his speech evoked much

on page 343.

MISS LENA ASHWELL

Miss Lena Ashwell was warmly received, and seconded the resolution in an eloquent speech, in which she spoke especially on speech, in which she spoke especially on the White Slave question, and the economic reasons underlying it. Alluding to articles in the magazines belittling the existing proofs of this Traffic, Miss Ashwell gave two telling instances from her own experience of young and pretty women who narrowly escaped traps laid for them. In the one, a girl of sixteen, just landed in Liverpool, get separated from her people for a few moments, and very nearly accepted an invitation to go off to tea with a white-haired lady, who fled precipitately on the arrival of the girl's father. In the other, a pretty actress, pestered on leaving the theatre by two men who tried to hustle her into a cab, had her skirt torn off her in making her escape on to an omnibus.

"The Women have been Punished"

The speaker, quoting from a contemporary writer—" Nothing that mankind has ever tried has been of the slightest avail" said "Here is the great answer to the whole question. The whole trouble is that in dealing with this question the laws have all been made by men, and the women have been punished and not the men."
(Applause.) She then gave terrible statistics to show how prostitution is increasing. In Paris there are 60,000 of these women, in Berlin 40,000, and in Lendon probably 80,000. In Chicago it is estimated that women of this class receive visits from 15,000 men daily.

Against these statistics she placed in-dustrial facts. Over 41 million women were being overworked and underpaid in this country, "living below the average possibility of existence." (Shame.) The average wage of cutworkers was 8s. 9d.; large numbers of women worked ten hours a day for something between 2s. Cd. and 4s. 6d. a week. This was why Suffragists were in a hurry, and she appealed to her audience to try and understand "hy some women were "banging themselves against this wooden wall of stupidity"; to realise that the women the Suffragists were out to help were "just the same as we are, with the same gift of the Spirit, the same hope for the future, with the same feelings, the same love, of the same race as we are." (Prolonged applause.)

The first resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY

Enthusiastic applause, lasting several moments, greeted Mr. George Lansbury, who moved the second resolution. It was a disgrace, he said, to British citizenship a disgrace, he said, to British citizenship that such a resolution should be necessary. We were no longer suffering from judge-made law, but from Home Office made law. He illustrated this point by showing the difference of treatment meted out to James Connolly and to Frank Moss, to himself and to Sylvia Pankhurst. Hitherto it had been the proud boast of Englishmen that they could say what they think. "Well, you can't do it now if you are women!" Further, the police had taken the law into their own hands and broken up peaceable meetings, and there was no ceable meetings, and there was no ice of bringing any charge home to the

"We Men are Responsible"

"We Men are Responsible"

Mr. Lansbury then went on to say: "It is the men of the country who are in the main responsible. (Applanse.)

There is only one clean-cut way of dealing with this Government and that is for people who are Liberals and Socialists to vote against the Government on every single occasion that comes along.

The men in the House of Commons on the Liberal side, the men in the Labour Party (if there are any), who are in earnest abant this, if they like, at any moment they please, could put Mr. Asquith in his right place." (Applause.)

Finally, Mr. Lansbury exhorted his hearers in the name of humanity to consecrate themselves to the cause. "People will forget all that is said here to night; they will forget all our resolutions; they will remember only what the men and women who have lived, died, and suffered for the cause have done." (Applause.)

IR. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who had a hearty reception, acconded the resolution, and, in reference to the Cat and Mouse Act and forcible feeding, said the Government was a respecter of persons, and would not put these into operation in the

case of persons who were well-known and of great social influence. Elaborating this point, he drew a comparison between the members of last week's Deputation to Mr. Asquith, who were discharged by the magistrate, and the ten women, including Mrs. Lawrence, who in the early days of the movement were sent to prison for two months for precisely the same offence.

The Political Situation

The Political Situation

Turning to the political situation, Mr. Lawrence said the salient point of this was the mistake the Liberal Party were making in thinking that, while they knew Woman Suffrage had got to come, it was not incumbent upon them to settle the question now. That was a great blunder. The opportunity might not occur later on. A process of disintegration had gone on in the party; the great bulk of intelligent women had left it, and the Liberals were fools to have let these women go, to think that they were certain to be returned to power after another general election, to think that if the Tory Party came into power they would not give votes to women. The Liberals were running the grave risk of letting the Tory Party enfranchise women, and of thus losing the women's votes, as they had lost numbers of working men's votes which are still given traditionally to the Tory Party because it was the Tory Party that enfranchised them. This might keep the Liberal foar of giving the Answering the Liberal foar of giving the

for many years.

Answering the Liberal fear of giving the vote on a narrow basis, the speaker in-stanced the Norwegian Liberal Party, who sank their own desire for a wider measure sank their own desire for a wider measure in order to secure Conservative support for their Woman Suffrage Bill, though they thought it would injure their party interests. What happened? The women, in their gratitude, returned the Liberals to power, who in the end gave them the vote on the extended basis.

Anti-Government Policy

A Government measure was the only alternative now. Mr. Lawrence concluded by a vigorous affirmation of the anti-Government policy at elections, and appealed to the audience to pass the resolution and resolve to strike a blow at these in reverted to the pass of the resolution and resolve to strike a blow at these in reverted to the pass of t those in power to force them to give votes to women, or to turn them out to make room for somebody else. (Applause.)

The resolution was passed with one dis-

GOVERNMENT DEFEAT AT LEITH BURGHS

BY-ELECTION RESULT Mr. G. W. Currie (U) 5,159. Mr. M. Smith (L) 5.143

Mr. J. N. Bell (Lab.) 3,346 Unionist Majority

Result of last election (Dec., 1910): R. C. Munro-Ferguson (L), 7,069; F. A. Macquisten (L U), 5,284. Liberal Majority, 1,785.

It will be seen from the above result that the former Liberal majority of 1,785 has thus been converted into a Unionist majority of 16. This is all the more remarkable, because, says the Times, "This is the first time since the Reform Act of 1832 that a Unionist has been returned for the constituency"; and the Daily Telegraph further points out that the two Scottish divisions that might have been considered until two years ago absolutely safe Liberal seats—Leith Burghs and Midlothian—are now both held by Unionists.

What is the cause of this change of

What is the cause of this change of opinion in the stronghold of Liberalism? We fancy that the Northern Men's Federation, whose deputation was snubbed by Mr. Asquith a fortnight before polling Mr. Asquith a fortnight before polling day, might have something to say in answer to that question. And we are certain that the strong anti-Government campaign waged throughout the election contest by the W.S.P.U. and the W.F.L. made a great effect upon the electors and brought about more than a sufficient turnover of Liberal votes to secure the defeat of the Liberal candidate.

After Leith, Votes for Women

No Liberal newspaper has any explana-tion to offer that is more conclusive than ours. The Times says, in its account of the declaration of the poll, that a leading Liberal was overheard to say, "After Leith, anything."

"After Leith, Votes for Women!" every astute Liberal elector in the country should be saying to the Prime Minister.

ONE SIGN WANTING

The introduction of Sir Harry Verney's Parliamentary Elections (Polling Day) Bill, says the Times, "Is one of the many signs that Ministerialists are giving close attention to changes in the franchise laws this Session."

Personally, we never did care for the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out.

IN AMERICA

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT To be Discussed at Once

A Central News cable from Washington states that the Senate decided on Monday last by 47 votes to 14 to consider immediately a resolution in favour of the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It will be remembered that the Senate Committee for Woman Suffrage reported favourably to the Senate on the Bill last June; and that it has been discussed twice in the Senate since then, the second time on January 21 of this year, when Senator Ashurst made an eloquent speech in its favour, but practically talked out the Bill at the same time and prevented a vote being taken on it. Since then the Bill has been awaiting action in the Senate, so the recent decision to proceed with it at once is a real step forward.

"The Most Significant Thing"

The Daily Citizen of last Wednesday calls this decision of the United State Senate "the most significant thing that has yet happened in the women's suffrage movement." The United States Senate, it proceeds to point out, consisting as it does of "ambassadors from the constituent States," makes "the decision on all matters of greatest moment." The article continues thus:-

"It may be taken for granted that in America at any rate the cause of women's enfranchisement has made a great stride forward. There has been no furious agi-tation, but there has evidently been a great change wrought. The waters, seemingly still, have been running deep. Americans happily have not that strange fear of freedom which still holds in its grip large masses of opinion in this country. They may not know generally how every civilisation that has long endured has been marked by justice to women, how crude our European view still is in that respect, and how destructive is that view of all sound social economy, but we shall be surprised if they have not the courage to essay the change. In this country this great reform is obstructed for the moment by party wirepulling and by apathy, but if women rise in America above the position of chattels still assigned to them by Anglo-Saxon law, they are not likely long to remain legally chattels here."

Why Our American Sisters are not

We said last week that the fight of the Women's Congressional Union in Washington to obtain a Woman Suffrage Federal Amendment (equivalent to a Government measure over here) is not likely to be nearly so hard in the States as it is in England, where no women have the Parliamentary vote. This is borne out by a significant paragraph in the Suffragist (Washington) of February 14, which has an added interest in view of the decision just made by the Senate, and which points out that the Democratic Party in Congress (the Party in power) have only a majority of three votes in the Senate or Upper House. If they lose those three votes they lose control of the Government. Now there are nine States in the Union in which women vote for United States Senators, and, adds the Suffragist simply, "The re-States will undoubtedly depend largely upon the action on Suffrage taken by the Democratic party."

Yet there are people who lecture the English Suffragists on being militant while American Suffragists gain their ends by constitutional methods!

It reminds us of the story of the decrepit old woman who said to the curate, when he had been telling her that in hell there would be weeping and gnashing of teeth, "Let 'em gnash em as has 'em' "

Civil Servants Threatened

One result of the strong anti-Democrat policy adopted by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage is indicated in a cutting from a Dayton (Ohio) newspaper, which states in a telegram from Washington dated February 8, that "Classified federal employees affiliated with suffrage organisations were warned to-day that they would be liable to removal from office under the civil service laws if they participated in political activity either as officers or associations, or through the exercise of influence as members." The same communication adds that this announcement was made as the result of a formal inquiry from an employee of the Treasury department, who recently resigned from the Congressional Union when that body adopted their attitude of opposition to the Democratic Party.

During the next Session of Parliament a Bill is to be introduced by Mr. E. N. Lewis, M.P., and, says The Champion, "we understand there is a strong probability of its passing."

A Reverse in British Columbia

The above piece of news is all the more welcome as the cause has suffered a temporary local reverse in British Columbia, where the Legislature has just thrown out a Woman Suffrage Bill by 23 votes to 14. There is, however, a political reason for the defeat of this Bill, which has, needless to say, been omitted from the brief account of failure eagerly cabled over here, and as eagerly published in our reactionary Press. It appears that the Bill was to have been in the charge of a Conservative member of the Legislature and a strong supporter of the Government, but on the opening day of the Session Mr. Place, member for Namimo and a supporter of the Opposition, gave notice of his intention to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill, and persisted in doing this in spite of the representations of the Women's Political Equality League, who knew that their Bill would have a much better chance if it were introduced by a Government supporter. The women worked loyally to get the Bill through, in the hope that members would support it regardless of party differences. Their fears have, however, been justified in the result, and the interests of voteless women have again been sacrificed to those of the Party machine. A Reverse in British Columbia

FIRST WOMAN JUDGE

The first woman judge in Canada has just been appointed at Calgary where Mrs. Jamieson, president of the Local Conneil of Women, has been made Commissioner of the Juvenile Court. She will have the same power as a police magistrate and judge of the District Court in cases in which the accused are under eighteen years of age.

OUR HUMOROUS PRESS

The Legislature of Alaska enfranchised The Legislature of Alaska entranchised women and then enacted a statute declaring that "all laws which impose or recognise disability on a wife that do not exist as to the husband are hereby repealed." As the "antis" are fond of saying, "Women must accept the suffrage at a terrible sacrifice of the precious privileges they have enjoyed."—Judge.

"SALE OF VOTES BY WOMEN. "INCIDENTS IN A CHICAGO ELECTION." "-Daily Express."

By a curious coincidence we have seen ladies selling Vores for Women in the streets of London.—Funch.

IN AUSTRALIA How Women Voters Combine

How Women Voters Combine

Some indication of the way enfranchised women combine in order to effect social reform, and sink their party feelings in doing this, may be obtained from the proceedings at Perth. W.A., of the annual meeting of the West Australian Council of Women, at which some account was given of the useful co-operation between the Council and the Women's Service Guild. The Guild is a non-party organisation, including many Labour and Liberal women, who work side by side for reforms particularly affecting women and children.

Some of these reforms, demanded both by the Guild and the Council, are indicated in the annual report of the National Council, and include the following: (1) That a minimum penalty be put on the statute book in cases of indecent assault upon children; (2) That five years be the minimum for indecent dealing with boys and girls (it can be a fine of a few shillings in this country!); (3) That fourteen years, with or without a whipping, be the minimum sentence for unlawful criminal assault on a girl under thirteen years of age.

A reform, securing the appointment of women inspectors to work among aboriginal women, had been won during the year through the united efforts of the National Council and the Women's Service Guild.

Another Women's Union

Another Women's Union

At the half-yearly meeting of the Metropolitan Women's Labour League, held also at Perth, resolutions protesting against the maternity grant of £2 being made a charity dole instead of a right of mother-hood (proposed by the Cook Ministry); against the leniency of sentences given in the ease of criminal assault (what would they say to the leniency of such sentences in Great Britain?); and against the building of a summer residence for the State Governor by a Government that could not afford to build a maternity hospital, all tend to show how mothers and children are looked after in a country-where women have the vote.

WHAT NEW ZEALAND MEN THINK OF US The leading article of the Star (Christ-church) of January 22, commenting on an

Anti-Sweating meeting held last autumn in London, says:-

Anti-Sweating meeting held last autumn in London, says:—

'What is the cure of the appalling conditions which have so dramatically been thrust upon upper-crust consciousness? Can the freest and most enlightened country in the world reconcile it with its conscience to continue flourishing on the underpaid labour of 2,000,000 female helots? The slaves themselves have no hope except in the vote. They claim the right to frame laws for their own emancipation. Equal pay for equal work is but the phantom of a dream with them. They hug the ideal to their hearts, but they despair to realise it until they win the franchise. How much longer will the rulers of Britain countenance the horrible oppression of the nation's submerged daughters, and resist the righting of their dreadful wrongs?"

IN FRANCE The Old Old Story

The placky attempt of the Paris militants to get placed on the Parliamentary register has not been successful. We did not really think it would be, knowing the not really think it would be, knowing the ways of those who are in nower. But what we did hope was that the French, with their delightful ingenuity, would find an original way of evading justice. And they haven't found it! The women's appeal has been dismissed because the term "citizen" does not include woman. And as though this were not enough to weary any Suffragiet who has been through it all in this country, there is the further excuse that the matter is one for the Legislature to settle; the Court is merely empowered "to administer the law as it stands"!

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

The Fullam Chronicle (February 13) reports case of a man, charged at the Central Criminal Court before Judge Atherley-Jones, with criminal assault upon his step-daughter, aged 13 years and 10 months.

Sentence: Three months' imprisonment in the second division.

Assault on a Woman

The Glasgow Herald (February 26) reports case of a man charged before Lord Skerrington at the South Court, Glasgow, with committing an indecent assault on a woman, on a piece of waste ground at Govan, on November 23.

Sentence: Sin months' imprisonment, to date from the day of apprehension.

Burning a Girl of 13

The Dail. Telegraph and other papers (February 26) report case of an insurance superintendent, charged at Mansfeld with ill-treating a girl of thirteen, employed in his house as servant. She was found to be badly bruised, her ear had been cut with a knife, and she had been burnt with a poker.

Sentence: One month's hard labour.

HEAVY SENTENCES

The Fimes (February 17) reports case of a civil servant charged at the Central Criminal Court before the Recorder with forging a request for the repayment of

income-tax.
Sentence: Eighteen months in the second

Stealing from a Woman

The same paper on the same day reports case of a man charged at the same sessions before Lord Salvesen in the North Court with stealing from a lady's handbag at the Central Station on January 2.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

Pefrauding Tradesmen

The Times (February 26) reports case of an artist charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Wallace, K.C., with obtaining goods under false pretences from Messrs. Harrods' and Messrs. John Barker. There were four charges, and he pleaded guilty.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

THE FULHAM CASE

The first case in our Comparison of Punishments this week is a particularly atrocious one, for the child, who has been thus ruined by her step-father, is about to become a mother. Yet after three months' simple imprisonment, the man who committed this abominable crime will be free once more to prey upon girls and children, while men and women convicted of theft to which they have often been driven in the first place by poverty and distress, serve long sentences with hard labour, or are sent to penal servitude.

We are glad to note that great indignation has been roused in the neighbourhood of the girl victim's home. Protest meetings have been held, and both the man and his judge have been denounced from the pulpit in more than one Fulham place of worship.

Could Have Been 15 Years

A correspondent, writing to the Fulham

Chronicle, says :-As one who was present in Court at

the time, I was amazed at the sentence of three months passed by Judge Atherley-Jones, in view of the fact that this infant was said to be pregnant. My mind flashed back to York Assizes in 1905, when a man was tried before Mr. Justice Darling for a somewhat similar crime. That girl was also thirteen years old and pregnant, and . Justice Darling showed his view of such acts when he passed sentence of fifteen years' penal servitude. At the same Court (the Central Criminal Court) last week an Italian, who pleaded guilty to an offence against the girl who was described as his sweetheart and under the age of sixteen, was bound over. Addressing the defendant, Judge Atherley-Jones made some remarks to the effect that the code of laws and morals in Italy was probably slacker than here. But an Italian solicitor,

have got five years in his own country."

who was seated next to me, said the judge was in error, and the man would probably

It amazes us that the Fulham Chronicle, which has been courageous and outspoken in its denunciation of this horrible case and the lenient sentence passed, sees no connection between such cases and the voteconnection between such cases and the vote-lessness of women. Apart from the known fact that the foremost crusaders in the social purity campaign of to-day are Suf-fragists, every thinking person must admit that if the status of women were raised to its true level, such crimes against little girls simply would not be tolerated.

PARENTS WHO NECLECT THEIR CHILDREN

Any one of the cases in the left-hand column of the above table of comparison of punishments may profitably be compared with that of Sarah Savage, the widow whose treatment of her children, inspired by her terror of losing them drew the harsh sentence of six months' imprisonment that was discussed in last week's Votes for Women. Daily papers supply many instances of fathers who, for culpable neglect of their children, with less excuse than in the case of Sarah Savage, are given far more lenient sentences.

One Month against Six

One Month against Six

Here are two such instances. The Evening Standard (February 19) gives the case of a labourer charged at the South-Western Police Court with running away with a married woman and leaving his wife and ten children chargable to the Wandsworth Guardians. They were found starving on Christmas Eve in Battersea. The magistrate described his conduct as "brutal in the extreme," and gave him one month's hard labour!

The second case is reported in the Derbyshire Times (February 14), and is that of a workman charged before the Chesterfield County Magistrates with culpable neglect of his children, though he and two of his sons were all at work, and there was no lack of money. The children occupied one bedroom, regardless of sex. There were four of them, the room was filthy, and they were all verminous and suffering from skin disease. Their clothes were poor and dirty. The defendant was said not to bother about them in any way. It was also said that he drank.

He was sentenced to one month's hard labour!

He was sentenced to one month's hard

Do our readers remember that in the case of Sarah Savage, it was expressly stated that she was sober and hard-working, and earned at most only 10s. a week? Yet for her neglect a centence of siz months was considered just.

THE WRONG MAN BOUND OVER

THE WRONG MAN BOUND OVER

The mildest of non-militants will feel heartily glad that John Denton, hall-keeper of the Victoris Palace, punched the head of the young Brazilian who hung about the stage door, last Monday, for the purpose of pestering actresses with his loathsome attentions (see Wednesday's papers). We ask our readers to place this case beside the one cited in Miss Lena Ashwell's speech on page 350. It was obviously impossible for the magistrate, Mr. Francis, to censure Mr. Denton for the assault; we only regret that he felt it necessary to bind him over and make him pay the costs and the doctor's fees. In any country where women count, the man who was assaulted would have been given this sentence, or a worse one, not the man who protected the women.

THE REVOLT AMONG WOMEN

Englishwomen May Not Drill-Forcible Feeding Horror in Scotland-The King to be Approached

ULSTER AND THE EAST END

A Contrast

In a piece of political satire appearing in last Saturday's Nation, the writer imagines a commentary written on current events 100 years hence, and says in the course of it, in reference to "King Car-son" of Ulster and his immunity from arrest: - "It was not that the Government of the day was blind to the perils of rebellian in general, for during these years they were actually imprisoning large numbers of men and women on charges of committing, or inciting to commit, minor acts of violence with a political object."

Ironically intended, this remark is an exact statement of what occurred last week. While the Times Belfast correspondent was busy informing us that 120,000 men are enrolled in Ulster, ready to fight in the event of the Home Rule Bill becoming law, and no attempt is made to arrest Sir Edward Carson, who is responsible for the recruiting and drilling of these rebel forces, the police broke up a perfectly peaceable parade of the People's Army in the East End last Friday evening, and in the riot they thus caused one woman and some men were arrested.

The Difference

The Daily Herald asks: "Is there no member of the Labour Party who has got pluck enough to inquire what is the difference between drilling without arms in the East End of London and drilling with arms in Ireland?

The difference is, of course, summed up in that one word—the Vote.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst sends us an account of what happened, from which it appears that on the preceding Tuesday, when the police did not interfere, the People's Army in eight ranks of ten were drilled in front of Miss Pankhurst's rooms in Ford Road, Bow, and no disturbance occurred. On Friday, when it was announced that the drill was to be repeated, a large force of police turned up and distributed themselves among the crowd, and broke up the ranks of men and women when they tried to form into squads. The people showed great patience, however, and after a while three squads were formed and drilled successfully in Ford Street. When the drill was over they came running back to Ford Road with linked arms. Everything was perfectly good-humoured; the only disturbance that occurred was caused by the police who tried to break up the manœuvres, and by a man, said to be a police spy, who made himself very objectionable to those around him, and in hustling one woman, tore her sleeve. Police spy or not, this man was not ar-

Miss Smyth Arrested

Miss Smyth, however, finding herself confronted by several constables, raised her arm and gave the order to dismiss, and after being pushed about by more than one constable, was finally arrested. Some men were also arrested, but were afterwards discharged.

On Saturday morning Miss Smyth was brought up at Old Street Police Court and charged with "causing bodily harm" to Police-constable King (one of those who errested her) by kicking him on the right ankle and with assaulting Police-sergeant Green in Ford Road. The case was adjourned until Thursday in this week.

Miss Smyth alleges that she neither struck nor kicked anyone, and that if anything happened to the constable's ankle he must have sprained it while running. It is further said that a policeman tried to kick Miss Smyth, and it is suggested that he kicked a fellow-constable by mistake.

"It is quite obvious," adds Miss Pankhurst, "that the trouble was caused by the police in order to prevent the drilling."

FORCIBLE FEEDING

MISS MOORHEAD'S CASE Another instance of the terrible dangers attending the process of forcible feeding is afforded in the case of Miss Ethel Moor-bead, who was released from Calton Gaol, Edinburgh, on Wednesday in last week, suffering from pneumonia in both lungs, and who, we hear, is still dangerously ill. From an account sent out to the Press by the Women's Social and Political Union it appears to the Political Union it appea Political Union it appears that the prison medical officer refused to carry out the operation of forcible feeding, and two outside doctors were employed instead.

We welcome the refusal of the prison doctor to inflict this torture upon the help-less prisoner in his power, and can only regret that two other men, whose profession is supposed to have for its object the saving of life, were found ready to commit the outrage in his place.

An Astonishing Conversation

The following account of a conversation between Dr. Devon, Medical Prison Commissioner for Scotland, and two members of the Edinburgh W.S.P.U., has also been sent to us by the W.S.P.U.;—

"May we see the prisoner?" "No! Because you might encourage her or excite her, both of which we wish to prevent in her present condition, and, secondly, you might give her something by which she might injure herself or others."

"Is she being forcibly fed?" "Yes." "You are fully responsible?" "Yes, both administratively and medically, and I accept full responsibility." "If you are medically responsible, do you witness the medically responsible, do you witness the operation?" "No, that is no part of my duty, and I shall not witness it." "In the case of eventualities during the operation, for instance, should the heart stop, do you have a clergyman at hand to administer the last rites?" "No, we do not anticipate anything of the kind." "You admit a risk?" "Yes." "I am glad you admit it, as we have it on the authority of Sir Victor Horsley and Mr. Mansell-Moullin that the risk is great." "I know better than either Sir Victor Horsley or Mr. Mansell-Moullin." "Are you prepared to take this risk?" "I am. I must protect property, and, if possible, life." Mr. Mansell-Moullin." "Are you prepared to take this risk?" "I am. I must protect property, and, if possible, life." "Then your attitude comes to this: it is this weman's life versus property, and the possible risk to life? We deny that any life has ever been risked except our own." "I will do my duty." "Do you believe you can keep this woman in prison till the end of her sentence?" "Frankly, no! But I will keep her until she is in such a condition that she will be unable to do anything." "Then you should order her execution—it would be more humane. You mean you will make her a physical wreck?" "You can put it that way."

It was claimed at last Monday's weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. that the defeat of the Government candidate at Leith Burghs was largely to be attributed to the indignation caused by the treatment of Miss Moorhead in prison.

WHAT THE EMPIRE THINKS OF US

The following resolution, condemning the British Government, was passed unanimously at a recent meeting of the Pioneer Political Equality League of Vancouver, British Columbia:

"Whereas forcible feeding of suffragists practised in Holloway Jail, London, by the British Government is cruel, barbarous and prejudicial to the health and life of those so treated;

"Whereas the so-called 'Cat and Mouse' Act is prejudicial to health and life, and is a revival of medieval torture, be it therefore resolved that in the name of humanity we protest against the conof humanity we protest against the con-tinuance of both these practices."

THE DEPUTATION OF FEBRUARY 24

The protest outside the House of Comcussed and commented on in the weekly and provincial Press. One of the most sym-pathetic accounts appears in the Christian Commonwealth, while the Yorkshire Observer, quoting from our own account, writes a pleasant article under the title, "Mr. Nevinson in Top-hat Mood."

WHEN IS A DOCTOR NOT A DOCTOR?

"Prison doctors are no use. When a doctor becomes a prison doctor he ceases to be a doctor," declared a prisoner at London Sessions.—Baily Herald.

DEPUTATION TO THE KING

According to the announcement made at the weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. last Monday, no answer had so far been received to Mrs. Pankhurst's letter, asking for an interview with the King. Mrs. Dacre Fox gave an amusing account of how she delivered the letten at Buckingham Palace under the escort of a policeman, who accompanied her to the presence of the Private Secretary.

Mrs. Fox continued: "So far nothing has reached us in answer to Mrs. Pankhurst's letter, and it seems to us that they are a very long time considering this matter. It may be necessary to send another letter, and, if it is necessary, that letter will go. I want to say that should such a thing happen—we do not assume

it—that His Majesty is unwise enough to refuse to see Mrs. Pankhurst and her deputation, they will go in any case. Mrs. Pankhurst has made up her mind that we cannot take a refusal, and that things are at such a pitch that it is absolutely necessary we should cease appealing, and that the order of the day should be deeds, not words." (Loud cheers.)

SUFFRAGISTS EVERYWHERE

The King and Queen and other members of the royal family were present at the concert in aid of the Railway Benevolent Institution at the Albert Hall last Saturday. Shortly after the interval there occurred what the Daily Telegraph describes as "an incident of a kind that has become almost habitual at certain functions." A Suffragist rose in the stalls directly beneath the royal box and commenced addressing the audience. The organ was almost immediately played in order to drown her speech, and she was ejected. Two other women near her scattered leaflets among the audience. They were also hustled away.

Chancellor Hiding Behind a Curtain

Chancellor Hiding Behind a Curtain One night last week Mr. Lloyd George and a party of friends attended a performance of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." The play had scarcely begun when three women rose in the gallery and taunted the Chancellor with hiding behind the curtains of the box. They were re-

taunted the Chancellor with hiding behind the curtains of the box. They were requested to leave. When Mr. Lloyd George himself left the theatre he did so by a private entrance leading to the Embankment.

At Hove Parish Church on Sunday a body of Suffragists chanted a prayer for prisoners, and later, when the preacher ascended the pulpit, one woman rose and said: "O Lord, enlighten the minds of those who torture. Open the eyes of this church that it may no longer stand on the side of cruelty and repression. Open the eyes of the clergy that they may no longer countenance this merciless persecution." No attempt was made to eject them.

False Fire Alarms

Following Mr. Birrell's visit to Bristol last week many false fire alarms were given. It is reported that postcards had been received at different police stations containing the words, "Votes for women. If you don't want false fire alarms, keep the woman-torturer Birrell out of Bristol."

"JUSTIFIED RESISTANCE" Where, oh! where is Bodkin?

"Under these circumstances the resistance which will certainly be offered to it by those Irishmen who are unwilling to be deprived of their existing status as full citizens of the United Kingdom will be a well justified resistance. Holding that view, we cannot ourselves git still, if measures are taken to coerce men who in our eyes will be defending not only their own rights, but those of the whole nation." So says the appeal to English Unionists signed by some of the most distinguished men in the country.

We always welcome any new converts to militancy. We merely ask—Where is Mr. Bodkin? Under these circumstances the resist-

to militancy. Mr. Bodkin?

MISS EMERSON AND DEPORTATION

In answer to a question by Mr. Wedgwood in the House of Commons on February 25, Mr. McKenna said:

No steps are being taken at present for Miss Emerson's expulsion, but, if she should again commit an offence which would bring her within the provisions of the Aliens Act, the question of applying to the Court for a recommendation for her expulsion will be considered.

A WOMAN OR A HOUSE

Miss Janie Allan, in Forward (February 28), comments on the fact that the bail fixed for Edward Ramsey, charged with having murdered a woman, was recently fixed at £10, while that fixed for Rhoda Robinson, arrested on suspicion of being a Suffragette concerned in arson, was £800. The writer adds: "The value of a woman's life as compared with a house, is very instructive, and explains a good dear of the militancy at present so general throughout the country."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attri-buted to Suffragists in the Press during

buted to Suffragists in the Press during the week:

Thursday, February 28.—Whitekirk Parish Church, East Lothian, an historic 14th century building, burned down; Suffrage messages found.

Saturday February 28.—Refreshment room and shelter in Cannon Hill Park, Birmingham, set on fire; Suffragist literature found. An attempt to fire an hotel which is being moved from Deritend and placed in the park.

Tubes of black fluid put into a number of pillar-boxes in Glasgow.

Sunday, March 1.—During the evening a bomb exploded under a seat in St. John the Evangelist, Smith Square, Westminster. Some seats damaged and two

minster. Some seats damaged and two windows broken. Suffragists suspected. Tuesday. March 3.—Three golf greens badly damaged at Bath. Suffragist mes-sages found.

IN THE COURTS

Saturday, February 28 .- At the Old Street Police Court, charged with assaulting two policemen, Miss Nora Smyth; re-manded on bail till Thursday.

Tuesday, March 3 .- At the Edinburgh City Police Court, charged with behaving in a disorderly way (assaulting members of an unruly crowd in connection with a Suffrage meeting), Mr. John C. H. Jeffrey; discharged.

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

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The events of the past week have been the drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Purkis's house, when Miss Roper's indictment of the Government's treatment of its women employees, and her convincing arguments for the vote were listened to with the deepest interest by members and friends, and Miss Victoria Drummond's visit to Worthing, where she gave a number of recitations for the local branch of the W.S.P.U.

Members of the League have acted as stewards at all the performances of Brieux' wonderful play, "Damaged Goods," given recently at the Little Theatre. It is to be hoped that further public performances of this remarkable and salutary work will be given, in the interests of the moral and physical health of the race.

An interesting dramatic entertainment is being planned by the League. It is to take place at the Arts Centre on Tuesday afternoon, March 24, and will consist of three new one-act plays dealing with the Suffrage: "The Suffragette," by Alfred Bucklaw; "Kindly Flames," by H. V. Carey; and "Which?" by Evelyn Glover (author of "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky"). Of these the second-named has been performed privately at the Chelsea Town Hall, while the first and last have not been seen before.

At the next "At Home" at the Arts Centre, on Friday, March 6, at 3 p.m., Miss Lena Ashwell and the other speakers will deal with the subject of "Sweated Women Workers."

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS 3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C. Telephone: Regent 5150

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Miss Lena Ashwell
Mr. Gerald Gould
Mr. Henry W.
Nevinson
Mr. John Sourr
Mrs. Ayton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

The Week's Record.—During the week many new members have joined US, and not a day passes without fresh men and women being enrolled. We were well represented at the Fellowship meeting last Thursday, officially on the platform by Mrs. Ayrton Gould, and unofficially in the audience and among the paper-sellers in

Our First Members' Meeting.—An informal meeting to welcome our members and make ourselves and our plans known and make ourselves and our plans known to them will be held in the New Constitutional Society's Hall, Knightsbridge (Knightsbridge Tube Station, Motors 9, 33, and others), on Friday, March 20, at 8 p.m. Chair: Miss Evelyn Sharp. Speakers: Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. H. J. Gillespie, and Mr. Gerald Gould. Some of those arrested outside the House of Commons on February 24 will be present, and it is especially hoped that every member will bring friends to be converted and, if possible, enrolled as members. For friends tickets of admission (free) must be obtained from the Hon. Secretary. Come and hear from the Hon. Secretary. Come and hear all about US!

Political Campaign.—The most important item in this is the campaign among electors now started in the two Parliamentary divisions, Walworth and West Southwark, where the Liberal majority is a small one. Mrs. Cobden Hirst is superintending the canvassing, and workers are asked to apply at once to the Hon. Secretary with a view to canvassing, arranging and speaking at indoor and outdoor meetings,

stewarding at both, paper-selling, and so on, according to their wish and expanity.

Heckling.—This is being organised at all kinds of meetings. It is hoped that anyone prepared to put Suffrage questions at public meetings, either with a view to silencing the speaker or to eliciting an answer at the end of the meeting, will apply at once to US.

An-Affiliated Society.—It is hoped that a new Society, the London Students' Suffrage Society, will shortly be affiliated to US. It will hold its inaugural meeting (for students only) at the New Constitutional Society's Hall, Knightsbridge, on March 10, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mr. Gerald Gould.

FELLOWSHIP IN DEED AND IN NAME

Prominent local members of both the great political parties will be present on the platform at the meeting in Birkdale Town Hall, to be held under the auspices of the Vorus FOR WOMEN Fellowship, on March 17, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is to be the speaker.. Such names as Miss Emily Davies, LL.A., Dr. Percy Ashworth, Mr. Charles Brumm, J.P., Mr. J. J. Cockshott, J.P., Dr. Thomas Simpson, J.P., the Rev. E. Collier, M.A., Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. Rees, Miss Kate Rimmer, to name only a few, are representative both of Liberal and Conservative opinion, and it is indicative of the growth of the movement among politicians to put "Woman Suffrage First" that these names should appear on a handbill in support of a meeting held to advocate this policy.

PROOF OF THE PUDDING IN HYDE PARK Australians to Testify

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," and it is good news to hear that this proof is to be supplied in Hyde Park by monthly Sunday afternoon meetings, beginning next Sunday, March 8, at 3 p.m., which will be organised by the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association (London). All the speakers will, therefore, be in a position to talk of the practical effects of the woman's vote in those portions of the British Empire where men are not afraid to trust their women with political power. Next Sunday the speaker will be Miss Margaret Hodge, and our readers, remembering her articles which appeared recently in Votes ron Women, will know that no better exponent of this particularly convincing form of propaganda could well be found.

A UNIVERSITY SUFFRACE MAGAZINE

The Edinburgh University Women's Suffrage Society has just published the 1914 number of their magazine, The Only Way. It is a very good number, and contains, among other things, a message from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and an article by Mrs. Fawcett. There is also an extremely interesting article called "The Trend of German Feminism." The Edinburgh University W.S.S. is for both men and women, and in the editorial notes a good account is given of its work and progress. These editorial notes are most broadly and impartially written, no special programme or society being unduly advo-

THE HUNGER AND THIRST STRIKE

A leastet by Miss Sylvis Pankhurst, de-scribing from actual experience the hor-rors and the after consequences of the

by the East London Federation of the Suf-fragettes (7s. 6d. per 1,000, or 1s. per 100). Appended is a list of the effects produced and the effects to be feared as a result of the strike, supplied by a doctor who has attended many of the hunger strikers after their release.

WOMEN AS COUNCILLORS

The County and Borough Councils (Qualification) Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Hills last Friday, would, if passed, establish a residential qualification for the purpose of enabling men and women to sit on municipal councils who have not the necessary voting qualification at present required. It would thus make many married women, now without the voting qualification, eligible for election to county and borough councils.

and borough councils.

Unfortunately, the Bill is supported by members from both sides of the House, a sure way in these days of Party fanaticism to obstruct its passage into law!

ANOTHER CAUSE OF MILITANCY

The stubbornness of some Britons in yielding to the inevitable goes far to account for militancy. The Champion.

THE CRUELTY CASE Mr. L. H. Bliss, of Dane's Inn Hou

Strand, writes to us a letter dealing with the case of Mrs. Savage, in the course of which he says:—

"The day after Mr. D'Eyncourt sentenced Sarah Savage to six months' imprisonment for the crime of loving her children too well to part with them, I sent him a small sum of money to be given to her on her release. He has refused to do this

"I then wrote asking to what prison she had been committed, so that I could have her met and helped on her releas no answer. I also wrote asking to be allowed to have (on payment) a full transcript of the evidence with a view to an appeal or a petition to the Home Secretary, and for some days obtained no re-

tary, and for some days obtained no response.

"I have at last had a reply from the Clerk of the Court saying that the matter as now out of its jurisdiction. I have just consulted a solicitor, who informs me that a criminal appeal must be ledged within seven days."

Mr. Bliss points out that the delay in replying to his letter has thus had the result of frustrating the ends of justice.



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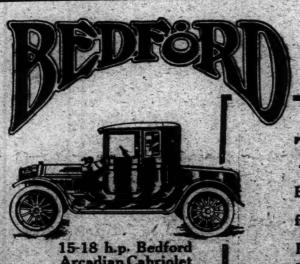
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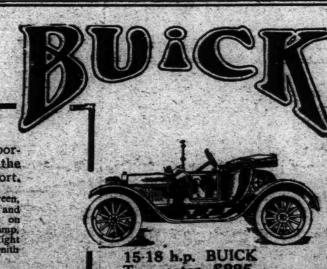
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Actresses: Franchise League, 2 Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Artists' Suffrage Longue, 259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association. Co International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Graton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W. Church League for Women's Suffrage,

Civil Service Suffrage Society, 19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Civil Service Suffrage Soniety,

19. Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

43. Dover Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes,

321. Roman Road, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage
Societies,

31. Aired Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Cymrid Suffrage Union,

53. Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,

2. Holmbury Visw, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,

Walden, Gloncester.

Cymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,

2. York Place, Oxford Boad, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop,

11. Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman's Franchise Club,

9. Gra'lon Street, W.

Irish women's Franchise League,

Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street,

Dublin.

Irish women's Reform League,

2. South Anne Street, Dublic.

Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Buffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Ratingar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegail Place, Beliast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justics.
22, South Moiton Street, W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union,

Z. South Moiton Street, W.
Liberal Women's Suffrage Union,
Denison House, Vanshall Bridge, S.W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman
Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing,
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
Duncton, Pelworth, Susser.

Duncton, Petworth, Susses.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement.

isement, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

chisement.

13. Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights.
65. Avenue Chambers, Sonthampton Row, W.C.

Minster Women's Franchise League.
33. Grand Parade, Cork.

Mational Industrial and Professional Women's Buffrage Society.
5, John Daitou Street, Manch ster.

Mational Political League.
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
5, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Man's Federation for Women's Suffrage.
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage.
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage.
2. St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League.
46. Queen's Road, Bayswaier, W.

Suffrage Ateller,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Stadio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3. York Street, St. James', S.W.

Stadio: 6, Sianlake Villas, Shopherd's Bush, W.

Buffrage Club,
3, York Sireet, St. James', S. W.

Buffrage First's Committee,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Buffragist Churchwoman's Protest Committee,
21, Downide Grescent, Hampstead, N.W.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists.
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Pellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Coart, Fleet Street, E.C.
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Wingate House, Ainsda'e, Lanes.

Women Banitary Inspectors' Suffrage
Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League.

Women's Freedom League. 1. Robers Street, Adelphi, W.C.

1. Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10. Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Klugsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance Lengue,
10. Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Taxchers' Franchiss Union,
27. Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writars' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietia Street, W.C.

COMING EVENTS 'Votes for Women" Fellowship Meetings

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. H. W. Nevinson will speak at the Temperance Hall, Derby, on March 11, at 8 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Boden. Tickets from Messrs. Edgar Horne, The Strand, Derby; price 2s., 1s., 6d., and 3d.

Lancashire Centre Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and the Rev. Leigh L. Orten, M.A. (Chaplain to Henshaw's Blind Asylum, Manchester), will speak at the Spinners Hall, Bolton, on March 16, at 7.30 p.m. Chair: Mrs. M. E. Cousins. Tickets, is, and 6d.; also admission free.

There will be a meeting in the Carnegie Hall (Town Hall), Birkdale, on March 17, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Law-rence. Chair: Miss Kate Ryley. Tickets.

1. and 6d., from the Misses Lovell, Win gate House, Ainsdale, the "Southport Visitor" and "Southport Guardian' Stores. Also admission free.

There will be readings from Olive Schreiner's "Women and Labour," at 15, Hoghton Street, Southport, every Monday evening at 8 p.m. The Lancashire Organiser will be at home to Fellows and friends every Thursday afternoon from 3.30 to 5.30 in Miss Palethorpe's Studio, The Albany, Old Street, Liverpool.

Other Meetings

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30 to 6.15 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Leonard Franklin. Speakers: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Miss Esther Roper, Dr. Florence Willey, and Rev. Dr. McGowan.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the N.C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on March 10, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Rev. Bernard Berlyn, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss Alexandra Wright.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on March 11, Dr. Elizabeth Sloane Chesser will lecture at 8.30 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall on March 11 at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, LL.A., and Miss C. E. Andrews.

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(Classified Advertisements continued on page 354)

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